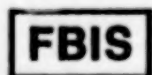


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14 JULY 1986

East Europe Report



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AGRICULTURE

ROMANIA

EFFICIENT USE OF ORGANIC WASTE IN AGRICULTURE NEEDED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 11 Apr 86 pp 13, 22

[Article by Agatha Popescu of the "Nicolae Balcescu" Agronomic Institute:
"Opportunities for the Efficient Use of Wastes in Agriculture"]

[Text] The prerogatives of contemporary civilization, the demographic increases, the increased production quotas and increased consumption have as a consequence the accumulation of ever greater amounts of wastes, among which organic wastes have a separate role. In order to balance nature in a biologic and energy sense, these organic wastes need to be eliminated and collected for the purpose of reintegrating them in the nature cycles of the movement of substances and elements. Modern society today lives in the age of the four "R's": the age of Recovery-Reintegration-Reuse-Recycling. Without this, we cannot speak of economizing on raw materials and energy resources, diversifying production, increasing the efficiency of economic activities and avoiding environmental pollution. The waste recovery operation (collection, transportation, storage, separation and treatment) is only partially difficult up until the point of finalizing certain adequate technologies. After passing through this stage wastes can be used either just as such or reintegrated in another production cycle that is technologically different from the first one. When wastes are reintroduced into processing in the same production cycle, they follow the flow of recycling: producer-consumer-waste-producer. The decision in selecting one or another of the paths of recycling organic wastes depends upon the source, type, content, degree of degradation and pollution of these wastes, and especially their effectiveness in the new finished products and the level of afferent costs in the transformation processes.

Categories of Organic Wastes

In nature, in the wake of production processes the result is a series of organic wastes which have their origins in either industry, agriculture or the household. Industrial organic wastes are the direct result of production processes in the food industry, from the processing factories for milk, starches, sugar, beer, and canned goods, from distilleries, slaughterhouses, bakeries and oil processing plants, as well as from a series of reusable residues from the hides and tanning industry and organic chemicals industry. Among the most important industrial organic wastes we find whey, bones, fats, fruit pulp and pits, peduncles, vegetable and fruit fragments, molasses, shavings, sawdust, dust, pebbles and other wood wastes, weeds, rinse waters and so forth.

As a result of household activities there is also a series of household organic wastes, such as household garbage and waste muds from urban-used waters, as well as those from rural areas equipped with sewer systems. In addition to these wastes, there are also those food wastes stemming from the public food supply network.

But, the most important supplier of organic wastes is agriculture, which annually, using crop and animal production technologies, eliminates huge quantities of agricultural wastes (hay, corn cobs, plant stalks, roots, plant heads, husks, stems, vines and animal wastes). In our country, the value of secondary agricultural products from cereal crop production, technical crops, vegetables, oil-bearing crops, fruit and grapes is increasing annually to approximately 3-4 billion lei, representing 3.5 to 5 percent of the value of total agricultural production. Of the total value of agricultural wastes, four-fifths come from wastes of crop origins and two-thirds come from the cooperatist sector. Among the secondary crop products, the most important are corn stalks and cobs and hay, which annually result in 13-16 million tons and 7-10 million tons, respectively. To this, we can also add other significant amounts of stems, husks, sugar beet stems and leaves, vines and so forth.

Zootechny annually provides approximately 50 million tons of traditional barn wastes, of which 70-75 percent come from bulls. Additionally, industrial complexes for raising pigs, cows and sheep also eliminate waste water (at the rate of 110 million cubic meters, 15 million cubic meters and 1.8 million cubic meters, respectively).

Organic wastes, especially agricultural wastes, have a greater biological value due to its content of organic materials, including gross proteins, which are important, as well as recoverable mineral elements. Seen at the level of the animal herds raised in our country, it is thus estimated that wastes from bulls have a fertilizing element content of 22,000 tons of nitrogen and 9,000 tons of phosphorus per year, which in this regard are equal to over 90,000 tons of ammonium nitrate and 50,000 tons of superphosphate. The wastes from poultry farming are capable of supplying annually 35,000 tons of nitrogen and 7,000 tons of phosphates, while the wastes from sheep raising can provide 100,000 tons of nitrogen and 50,000 tons of phosphates.

From the 50 million tons of barn waste produced annually in our country, we can recover and recycle 240,000 to 270,000 tons of nitrogen, 140,000 to 170,000 tons of phosphates and 330,000 to 420,000 tons of potassium. From used water, we can recover 100,000 tons of dried materials which contain 40,000 tons of organic materials, 4,000 tons of nitrogen, 5,600 tons of phosphates, 8,000 tons of calcium and 640 tons of magnesium. By species, wastes from horses are the most valuable due to the fertilizing elements in it and the heat factor which it can offer to vegetable farming. At the same time, poultry wastes excell in the area of its protein content (37.4 percent gross protein from wastes stemming from chickens raised as broilers).

Wastes - An Important Resource

Agriculture, an economic field of maximum importance is both the supplier and large consumer of organic wastes, which are not only a source of valuable raw materials, but also a means for conserving and increasing the fertility

of the soil, for developing, diversifying and economizing the raw material and energy base, for broadening the range of fodder resources, for increasing the profitability and growth of the agricultural sub-branches, and for protecting and maintaining the purity of the environment.

The most important form of using animal organic wastes is as a natural fertilizer, of the type of traditional barn wastes and manure, for new wines, unfermented wines and used water. The application of organic fertilizers contributes to the improvement of content through the addition of nutritive substances to the soil, to the formation of humus - as the most important element of the soil - and to the rebuilding of reserves and a balance between the nitrogen, potassium, calcium and other substances that can be assimilated by cultured plants. Similarly, there is an improvement of the structure of the soil, its degree of solidity, its ability to retain water, aeration and thermal status, and there is an intensification of microbe activity. The best effects are obtained through the use of organic fertilizers on reddish-brown soils in forests and podzols. On light soils, we can successfully use quantities of 10-15 tons per hectare and on heavy soils 30-40 tons per hectare. In pastures, 10-20 tons per hectare can be used, in orchards 40-60 tons per hectare, for vegetables 2-5 kilograms per square meter and for cereal crops 10-30 tons per hectare, either alone or in a mixture with chemical fertilizers. Organic wastes can also be efficiently used as an additive to clay and sandy soils, contributing not only to fertilizing them, but also to modifying the PH factor favorably.

Along the lines of expanding non-conventional energy resources we also have the transformation of organic wastes, especially animal wastes, into biogas. Thus, this gas for burning can be obtained easily with reduced costs and on the basis of a simple technology, with a high level of productivity compared to other traditional energy resources. Through the simple aerobic fermentation of barn wastes, we can produce 350,000 to 375,000 kilocalories per cubic meter, while by using anerobic fermentation one kilogram of volatile organic substance provides .2 to .3 Nm³ of biogas.

Biologic gas can be used as a permanent fuel on farms and private farms and for heating household water, milk, shelters for animals (especially breeding stalls and poultry coops), and houses, as well as for cooling liquids. Similarly, its can also be used as a fuel for utility vehicles, as is done on a wide scale basis in different countries (France, Brazil, the United States, China and so forth).

In our country, the great majority of organic wastes is slated to be used with increased efficiency in the feeding of different animal species, contributing to the diversification of fodder resources. It is estimated that approximately 85 percent of the secondary agricultural crop products are used as fodder for animals, equalling 6-10 billion nutritive units.

Among these, corn stalks and cobs (which represent 40 percent of the nutritive value of the plant) total five to six billion nutritive units. They are capable of providing 20-25 percent of the total fodder consumption stemming from crop origins, being ready for use after preparation by way of chopping, pickling, mixing with molasses, adding dregs and so forth.

Hay, used alone or prepared by way of different procedures, currently accounts for 25-30 percent of the energy value of basic cereal products, being used at the rate of 95 percent as fodder, with the rest being slated for use in the cellulose and paper industry and for providing bedding for animals. In our country's fodder balance, 2.5 billion to 4 billion nutritive units stem from cereal crop hay, to which we can add 140-190 million nutritive units supplied by vegetable stalks and 150-300 million nutritive units from the leaves and stalks of sugar beets.

Animal wastes, especially pig and fowl wastes, have been more recently introduced in different percentages in the structure of animal feeds, especially for bulls that are being fattened. After a prior drying, sterilization and processing, animal wastes retain a rich content of nutritive substances (proteins, vitamins, mineral salts and so forth) and have a sufficiently high degree of digestibility, making it possible to transform and convert them into products having a high biological and nutritive value.

The Efficiency of Using Wastes

The use of wastes by reintroducing them into the economic cycle has as its purpose, first of all, the increase in the efficiency of agriculture. The investments made for the collection, transportation, storage, treatment and processing of organic wastes, especially those coming from agriculture, are generally of a minimum amount, while the economic effects of their recycling are very significant.

The economic efficiency of using wastes can be translated by: high increases in production per unit of land for fertilized crops, stabilizing the fodder balance on the basis of using secondary crop resources and wastes in the feeding of animals, economizing on chemical fertilizers and concentrated fodder and other categories of fodder, as well as the energy involved in the production of these feeds, and diversifying non-conventional energy resources and saving traditional ones, such as gasoline and natural gas. Here are several significant figures in this regard. Research and practice have proven that the use of organic fertilizers in the Baragan and Dobrodja in doses of 20 tons per hectare for fall wheat has led to production increases that have varied between 1,000 and 2,600 kilograms depending upon the type of soil (1,100 kilograms in heavily leached chernozum, 1,200 kilograms in podsoils, 1,200 kilograms in decarbonated chestnut-colored chernozum, 1,500 kilograms on alluvial soils and 2,600 kilograms on sandy soils) per unit of land area.

For corn, the per-hectare production increases can vary between 1,200 kilograms in phreatic chernozum and alluvial soils up to 2,750 kilograms on podsoils. Potato production can increase by 3,000 to 5,000 kilograms per hectare if organic improvements are made to alluvial, grown-gray and heavily leached chernozum soils. For sugar beets, production increases can reach 5,000 to 12,000 kilograms per hectare.

Through the concomitant use of chemical and organic fertilizers record production increases can be had for the majority of crops. By using 20 to 40 tons of organic fertilizer per hectare one can obtain additional production of 18 percent

for wheat and corn, 19 percent for sugar beets, 47 percent for potatoes and 27 percent for perennial vegetables, resulting in a corresponding savings in mineral fertilizers of 42 percent for wheat, 40 percent for corn, 37 percent for sunflowers, 52 percent for sugar beets, 31 percent for potatoes and 45 percent for perennial vegetables.

Calculations done by specialists show that from a field of 100,000 hectares planted with corn one can produce 200 million nutritive units, the equivalent of 20-25 million rations of fodder which can be used to feed 50-60,000 cattle or 150,000 to 200,000 sheep and which can produce 7,000 to 8,000 tons of meat or 750,000 to 900,000 hectoliters of milk or 300 to 400 tons of wool. By using 100,000 tons of hay as fodder, one can obtain the equivalent of 35 million nutritive units, which will provide the necessary amount to cover the vital functions of and production of 50,000 to 60,000 head of cattle. The use of poultry wastes at the 60 percent level in silos for feeding young bulls that are being fattened has permitted the achievement of an increase of 710 to 790 grams per animal per day.

This efficiency can also be proven in the field of energy by several suggestive examples. On an area of 200 hectares where 200 animals are maintained - with 120 being cows - one can obtain a volume of 220 cubic meters of methane, the equivalent of 265 liters of gasoline. From 100 tons of poultry wastes, one can produce 33,000 cubic meters of natural gas, thus saving approximately 45,000 liters of gasoline.

By using the resulting wastes, the Beragsau-Timis Pig Raising Combine alone, where the turnover is one million pigs each year, could produce 800,000 cubic meters of biogas, replacing 40,000 tons of diesel fuel in the country's energy balance, an amount needed to carry out agricultural work on a 300,000 hectare land area. Similarly, the use of 100 tons of organic fertilizer, although it requires the consumption of 3,800,000 kilocalories of fuel, results in a one-third savings in the technological energy consumption involved in the production of mineral fertilizers.

The aspects presented above point out the fact that, today, organic wastes are a production and supplementary income resource and a source of savings in raw materials and energy resources. Their better use is a means for increasing economic efficiency in agriculture and in other areas, a means to recycle the organic materials in nature and a way to preserve the biologic balance and avoid pollution of the environment.

8724
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AGRICULTURE

YUGOSLAVIA

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION PLANS TO 1990

Belgrade GLASNIK POLJOPRIVREDNE PROIZVODNJE, PRERADE I PLASMANA in Serbo
Croatian No 1, Jan 86 pp 17-21

[Article by Stana Mastilovic-Ostojic]

[Excerpt] Planning documents have been adopted for the development of agriculture and the agroindustrial complex. --Yugoslavia's 1986-1990 social plan and the Resolution on 1986 policies for realizing the social plan stress a more intensive use of important production potential in this field as their starting basis. Accordingly, they plan for development and economic policy measures which will create the conditions for a more comprehensive and rational use of farm land and other production factors, in order to realize a production scale and structure which will satisfy consumption needs within the country, ensure appropriate reserve levels, and enable a dynamic growth in the export of agricultural and foodstuff products.

Total planned grain production in 1990 will amount to approximately 22.5 million tons, or about 950 kg per capita. Accordingly, keeping in mind grain's relatively high share of the country's arable land (approximately 68 percent) a further increase in production is planned by achieving substantially higher yields per unit of land, which assumes a more comprehensive application of quality of seed selection, and greater use of fertilizers, chemical protection, and other achievements of modern agrotechnology and biotechnology. Grain's important share in total per capita food stuff production consumption will continue to be taken into account, and grain will continue to have great importance in fodder mixtures where the percentage of grain has increased substantially over the past few years (up to close to 60 percent of total nutritional units).

Wheat production in 1990 should stabilize at approximately 6 thousand (as published) tons, with repurchases totaling approximately 4 million tons. In order to ensure stable wheat production at the level of the country's needs, the social sector and socially organized production on the private farms will continue to make substantial contributions. The maintenance of an appropriate relationship between the price of wheat and the cost of production goods and equipment, in particular artificial fertilizers, is particularly important, because this parity has become increasingly unfavorable during recent years. It is felt that support of wheat

production in regions where the activity enjoys no comparable advantage whatsoever should be overturned, because this is a symptom of a closed market within the framework of narrow socio-political communities, as opposed to favoring a unified Yugoslav market.

During the 1985 harvest the tendency to further decrease the amount of arable land cultivated for wheat on private farms continued. As a result, a decrease in 1986 wheat production is anticipated, when it could have approached 4.8 million tons. This leads to the need for more organized repurchasing of wheat, because commercial consumption totals approximately 3.2 million tons a year.

Gains in scientific results, in the case of corn, prove with certainty that our country has significant potential available for increasing production. The importance of achievements in genetics and biotechnology in particular, along with other technical, technological and other conditions provide the basis for anticipating corn production on the level of 15 million tons in 1990. Current arable land cultivated with corn totals approximately 2.3 million hectares, or about 36 percent of total arable land. The average yield achieved of approximately 4.8 tons per hectare, however, is substantially lower than in countries with well developed agriculture. (Footnote 1) (Average corn yield (in tons per hectare) was 7.2 in the United States, 6.1 in France, 6.8 in Italy, 5.8 in Hungary, and 4.95 in Yugoslavia (70 (as in original) on socialized farms and 4.6 on private farms)). The greatest reserves are found on private farms which contribute to approximately 83 percent of total corn production in the country. The demand for corn as well as its broad value in use indicate that all forces should be involved and the necessary economic and other conditions guaranteed for this production to increase. On corn's balance sheet, livestock feed consumption will continue to hold the greatest share (livestock feed's current share is 86 percent of total production); which, in addition to the anticipated rapid development of animal husbandry as well as in addition to a more meaningful rationalization of corn use in livestock feed, should make possible exports of between 1.5 and 2 million tons by 1990.

In oil crop production, the goal is to overcome the deficiencies in cooking oil production as quickly as possible, and to produce as great a quantity as possible of protein livestock feed which is also presently being satisfied by imports (soy, oil cakes, and crushed oil seeds). It is anticipated that oil crop production, that is sunflowers, soy and rape oil, by 1990 will have to have reached the point which would make possible production of approximately 320 thousand tons of edible oil. Accordingly, it is planned that the amount of arable land used to cultivate oil crops will steadily increase so that by 1990 it would reach at least 5 percent of total arable land (as opposed to the 3.8 percent of recent years) on which substantial increases in yield per hectare is also planned. The oil and livestock feed industries should play a large part in increasing oil crop production, as their capacities are now being underused due to raw material shortages. Realization of the planned level of oil crops by 1990 should substantially decrease imports of agricultural and foodstuff products (the value of soy, oil cake, and crushed oil seed imports totalled \$236 million in 1984).

A consideration of growth of sugar beet production or sugar production first of all begins with the country's consumption needs, bearing in mind the need to use the sugar industry's available capacity which is presently underused (approximately 60 percent of capacity). During the next medium-term plan, it is planned that arable land cultivated with sugar beets should increase along with a further increase in yield, particularly in irrigated areas. During the 1986-1990 period economic policy measures should make possible a stabilization of sugar beet production of between 7 and 8.5 million tons, or between 950,000 and 1,050,000 tons of sugar (about 44 kg per capita by 1990). Keeping in mind the sugar price fluctuations worldwide, exports of this product should merit a relatively high subsidy, which is why planning its development chiefly revolves around the constraints of domestic demand. A broader tying of sugar beets to the development of cattle herding, in particular to intensive milk production, could also contribute to economic results.

Breed line improvement and better fodder composition are being given special attention in order to achieve continued growth in animal husbandry, in addition to increasing livestock numbers. Breed lines are expected to change through the development of a corresponding selection network which must be based upon long-term foundations (registration books, application of progeny tests, etc.). The basic starting point for improving animal husbandry is more developed corresponding fodder composition which has been ignored up until now. Production of livestock feed is expected to increase by at least an average of 6 percent a year, and protein feed by a rate of 8 percent during the 1986-1990 period. It is significant that the increase in energy food production will obtain a greater share of protein components, which are particularly important in achieving greater productivity, particularly in meat production. It is very important that modern solutions, which include plans for substantial reserves are figured into the broader plan of livestock feed production and preparation. Scientific results are far ahead of the actual situation in this area, but their application will primarily depend upon creating the conditions for the stable development of animal husbandry on a long-term basis. The use of substantial reserves to increase and improve the use of bulk livestock feed is one of the primary tasks for the continued development of agriculture, and is an essential precondition for greater profitability. Changes already carried out indicate that in 1990 it would be possible for bulk feed to amount to 43 percent of total nutritional units in fodder composition, as opposed to the 37 percent which is estimated for the average 1984-1985. Achieving greater yields in bulk livestock feed production presupposes the application of modern scientific and practical methods, first of all land improvement, fertilizer use, quality seed selection, corresponding agrotechniques, conservation measures, etc. An increase in the number of livestock per unit of land is planned to allow for reserves. (Footnote 2) (The number of cattle per hectare of arable land in 1983 was: 6.1 in the Netherlands, 2.1 in West Germany, 1.3 in France, 1.2 in Denmark, 0.8 in Poland, and 0.7 in Yugoslavia.) An increase in the productivity of meat, milk, wool and other livestock product production per head of livestock is also planned. In order to have intensified production in animal husbandry, which to a large extent is

dependent upon expensive livestock feed and high costs, a definite orientation toward a more rational use of available resources, and less expensive production must be carried out. This is also affected by domestic and export demands. Due to the depressed standard of living, domestic consumers will consume less and less expensive meats; and the well-known export limits, in particular in European Economic Community countries, will also lead to a definite orientation toward substantially higher use of the country's natural resources. Meat production could reach 1.6 million tons, or 66 kg per capita, and milk production 5,600 liters by 1990 if there is a corresponding increased organization of production and sales, with the meat and milk industries playing the most important roles. Beef and lamb are expected to take up a greater share in meat producing enterprises. The composition of total meat production in 1990 could come to: 28 percent beef, 40 percent pork, 22 percent poultry, and 5 percent lamb.

According to available research, the continued development of cattle raising must be based upon less expensive sources of livestock feed, because this is a precondition for lowering the costs of production, and increasing sales. In addition to improving livestock breed lines, and a substantial increase in bulk livestock feed production, an increase in beef production should contribute to a decrease in the excessive slaughtering of young and underfatted cattle. The slaughter of calves contribute to 40 percent of the total number of slaughtered cattle, resulting in a decrease in the average weight of slaughtered livestock, which is substantially less in countries with intensive economies. (Footnote 3) (The average weight of slaughtered cattle in 1983 was (in kgs): 308 in Belgium, 285 in Hungary, 282 in Austria, 270 in West Germany, 265 in France, and 224 in Yugoslavia. (Productivity is substantially less on private farms, which raise approximately 98 percent of total cattle holdings.)) These private farms are usually tiny land holdings with uncertain sales, which make it difficult to progress toward an intensification and specialization in milk production; but this would be the most rapid way to improve breeds and utilize significant reserves in production including the use of bulk livestock feed (silos, hay elevators, green conveyors, etc.)

A substantial increase in the number of sheep would be the fastest way to a more comprehensive use of the over 4,300,000 hectares of pasture land in our country (approximately 30 percent of total agricultural land). All the more so because lamb, wool and leather are in demand on the domestic and world markets, and our country is a substantial exporter of wool and leather (over \$150 million a year). A growth in sheep herding would create the conditions for more income and contain the continuous population migration from mountain areas. There exist significant opportunities in working to enrich and improve sheep breeds, which in the next period should be used much more.

Pork and poultry production have to be coordinated with sales opportunities on the domestic and foreign markets, making it of the utmost importance to improve the production of livestock feed, in particular protein concentrates; in order to decrease production costs. The meat and livestock feed industries should take a more active involvement in the organization and improvement of hog and chicken farms.

Table 1. Growth Rates of the Physical Dimensions in Agricultural Production

	1986-1990(1)	1986-1990(2)	1986 (based on 1985)
Agriculture--total	4.5	3.8	8.0
of which:			
--Agriculture	5.7	4.6	12.0
--Animal Husbandry	3.2	3.0	3.0
Social Sector	6.7	6.1	6.0
Private Farms	3.8	3.0	9.0

1. Based on 1985 estimates

2. Based on 1984-1985 as the base year. Characteristically, it should be stressed that the planned high growth rate in the physical dimension of agricultural production is the result not just of a substantial increase in the production of agricultural production in the period ending in 1990, but also due to the considerable decrease in production in the 1985 base year (the index of physical dimensions of production in 1985 is 93 in relation to 1984).

12788/12781

CSO: 2800/207

14 July 1986

ECONOMY

BULGARIA

DEPUTY FINANCE MINISTER CONDEMNS EXCESSIVE SPENDING

Sofia NARODNI SUVETI in Bulgarian No 3, 1986 pp 2-4

[Article by Docent Mikhail Dinev, deputy finance minister: "On Decisive Strengthening of Financial Discipline"]

[Text] During the years of construction the people's councils grew in strength and gained recognition as genuine masters of the territorial units and efficient organs of popular self-government. Striking proofs of this are the results of the successfully implemented decisions of the 12th Party Congress on the integrated building of the conurbation systems. The processes of concentration into the production, engineering-and-technical and social infrastructure became the physical basis for application of the economic approach and the economic mechanism in the administration of the territorial units. The party motto, "Everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man," found its true dimensions in the common concern for progress in all its aspects and for the economic strengthening of Bulgarian production processes as activities as a precondition for the successful solution of social problems in the conurbation systems.

The entire organizational and practical work of the people's councils is now aimed at implementation of the plan for the country's socioeconomic development on the basis of the tasks stemming from the February (1985) and January (1986) plenums of the BCP Central Committee for the accelerated introduction of scientific and technical progress.

The complex and important tasks are being implemented given earmarked, organized and economical expenditure of financial resources. The budgets of the people's councils are part of the country's unified budget system and are registering a continuous increase. During the present year of 1986 the people's councils have been granted nearly 4 billion leva, which they will spend for the most part to fund outlays for education, health services, culture, sport, tourism and all social measures. The increase of these funds is in keeping with the growth of the national income and corresponds to the socialist system's great capabilities for accelerated solutions of the nation's social and cultural development. An essential aspect in the organization of the budgets of the people's councils is the ability continually to increase the amounts thereof, simultaneously with the mobilization of additional revenues from the economy of the conurbation systems. But this requires the people's councils to focus

their work on improvement of the financial results in the activity of the economic organizations in their territory and on continuous expansion of sources for replenishment of their own revenues. Reciprocal interest is reflected in the Regulations on Application of the Economic Mechanism, which indicate the possibilities for using the resources of economic and other organizations for carrying out social-welfare and municipal measures and for public services and amenities. In 1984 alone these amounts totaled 105,224,000 leva.

In the territory administered by the people's councils a number of other activities are carried on that give rise to varying and often complex relationships and affect not only the sum total of the budget but also the education of the people. Of such character are the so-called extraneous activities, special and other initiatives. Under the control of the people's council also are all activities which by their character give rise to possibilities of the manifestation of negative phenomena. All this, to a significant extent, increases their responsibility and widens the range of their concerns for the collection and economical spending of financial resources.

Problems in the economical spending of funds are important in the development of our country. They reflect the organizational and political knowledgeability of key personnel and their discipline. A widely known truth is that wealth economizes and the opposite is a sign of poverty. Moreover, economization always begins with small expenses, the ones that grow imperceptibly and at a given moment the financial means of the people's councils dwindle. The desire to show off great financial means by squandering resources is a sign of low knowledgeability, an indicator of the lack of maturity. There are many examples along these lines. They are pointed out in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report to the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee, dated 18 September 1985, and in the resolution adopted in accordance therewith, "Onward to a Decisive Campaign against Negative Phenomena in Our Practical Affairs." In most generalized form, these violations boil down to the following: organizing expensive events, banquets, crowded dinners, purchasing expensive gifts, junkets and poorly organized official trips, extravagance and abuse in the use of state equipment and means of transport, etc. Besides this, extravagance is tolerated also in the financing of activities other than those indicated in the Regulations on the Economic Mechanism, the financing of sports societies, unions of creative people, groups of fellow countrymen, etc. All these violations have resulted in large overexpenditures, which have been covered by a series of "financial operations," thereby reducing the financial resources necessary for other purposes.

The people's councils and the organizations financed by them make illegal expenditures and misappropriate pecuniary resources in significant amounts, thus causing losses in their budgets. There is evident an alarming tendency towards an increase in losses of this kind. This negative phenomenon results from varying causes, but the main ones reduce to the following: insufficient prior and current financial control on the part of the executive committees and finance officers; inadequate qualification of some officers performing post-factum financial control, for which reason the rate of detection of shortages and other violations of financial discipline is lower. Within the system of people's councils and in the organizations financed by them there has not been created

an atmosphere of implacability towards waste, mismanagement and personal misappropriations. Most significant in amounts are the losses from illegally paid labor remunerations, bonuses, prizes, etc., which in 1984 amounted to over 10 million leva and increased by approximately 3 million leva in 1983 alone. Losses from overexpenditure of materials, fuels and power during the same year were 6,470,000 leva, and from other nonproductive outlays 783,000. In some okrugs such as Khaskovo, Pazardzhik, etc., losses specific in their character were registered such as charging for outlays not actually made--labor, materials, transportation, etc., in the planning and provision of public services and amenities, in housing and municipal construction.

On the budgets of the people's councils every year considerable funds are spent for the accelerated promotion of education. Material costs in schools and children's institutions are increasing. The number of scholarships for students is growing. Conditions are being created for comprehensive instruction with modern computer equipment. This is a positive phenomenon. At the same time, however, in some schools of Plovdiv and Burgas okrugs, of the capital city people's council, etc., a number of illegal outlays are being made such as the following: overpayment of base and additional remuneration for teaching and extracurricular work, unwarranted overstaffing of personnel due to incorrect determination of the number of classes, excessive transportation costs for pupils, illegal expenditures for maintenance of students' camps, inadequate rate of use of teaching aids, etc.

Territorial culture complexes with their local units are an active factor in the overall nurturing of our citizens, in their harmonious molding as persons with communist virtues, modern builders of a developed socialist society. The party and state bestow great care on the successful accomplishment of these important goals and the budgets of the people's councils every year allot considerable financial resources for the development of local cultural centers. The expenditures that are made, however, do not always jibe with the prescriptive documents in effect. The taking of various territorial cultural measures is tolerated without prior funding under the appropriate budget or with considerable overruns of the planned expenditures. Budgetary funds are paid out in greater amounts than allotted for this purpose and no attempt is made at timely restoration of sums issued in advance for the creation of works of art under contracts not fulfilled on time, etc. Such violations of financial discipline are characteristic of most of the territorial culture complexes.

Concern for the people's health care, for the development of their physical energies and the rehabilitation thereof has always had a central place in the social policy of our party and state. A sign of this policy is the yearly increase of moneys in the budgets of territorial units for health services, sports and tourism, which in 1986 alone amount to 867,300,000 leva (a 4.6-percent growth over 1985). In making expenditures for the above-indicated activities, illegal payments of varying additional labor remuneration are tolerated; the established food rations are exceeded; the indirect costs of the maintenance of health-care institutions are increasing; specialized health-service cars are used for administrative and management needs, etc. (Mikhaylovgrad, Sofia, Smolyan and other okrugs). In the health-care institutions of Plovdiv Okrug applying the new economic mechanism, violations have been found in the

compilation of the financial accounts under review, as a result of which payments have been made from the wage fund in a larger amount than due.

Quite a few violations have been ascertained which result in the general reduction of the budgetary resources and financial means of the people's councils. Under conditions of the economic mechanism the people's councils have a financial interest in collecting all possible revenues and in increasing the amount thereof. In practice this does not always result; frequently, even, slight interest in the collection of revenues is shown. Checks that have been made have ascertained that a number of economic enterprises and organizations have not paid the sums due for housing units they have received worth a total of over 86 million leva. Following assistance rendered by the Ministry of Finance, most of this amount was paid, but in some okrugs such as Varna, Stara Zagora, etc., there continue to be debts in a significant amount. Other checks have found that fees for the use of tillable land for construction and other nonagricultural purposes amounting to 71 million leva have not been paid.

In conformity with the prescriptive documents the Ministry of Finance may grant people's councils earmarked moneys or temporary interest-free loans for the carrying out of important measures and in the event of temporary financial difficulties, with a deadline set for an accounting and refunding of the unspent portion. These deadlines are not always honored, which hampers the carrying out of other measures on a national scale. At the end of 1985 it was ascertained that certain people's councils had not refunded unused earmarked grants amounting to a total of 1,257,000 leva.

The obligations of the people's councils to restrict and eliminate certain activities in their respective conurbation systems and combat negative phenomena are specific. The campaign against unearned and illegal income is a social and political necessity. The task, set by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, of resolute and speedy practical measures against social distortions and the sources thereof are a party behest and obligation of the people's councils. No passivity can be shown when in their territory illegal acts are committed, when private initiatives, corruption and illegal enrichment of citizens are rampant. It does not suffice to content oneself with merely collecting taxes and fees on these activities without seeking methods of regulating and abolishing them where necessary. Violations in this regard of the Law on the Property of Citizens, and especially of Section III concerning unearned and illegal income, are serious. No thoroughgoing analysis is made of the violations found through checks and audits, nor is behavior incompatible with our socialist society penalized.

Examples of violations of financial discipline can be extended, but the conclusion remains unchanged: there must be strict practical measures compelling observance of the rule of law in the spending of moneys. During the years of all-round progress this requirement is of greater importance; there are more results from it for the common good. The tasks, set by the party, of the accelerated development of science and scientific and technical progress, of the accomplishment everywhere of the tasks of the February (1985) and January (1986) plenums of the BCP Central Committee are a responsibility of the people's councils, too, in their activity involving the lawful and purposeful use of financial resources. A new approach is needed towards mobilizing all means

for the performance of these tasks. Something new, as well, are the requirements of strict, continuous, preventive and comprehensive control. In this respect the role and the responsibility of the financial authorities and of financial control are extremely great.

The strengthening of financial discipline is a task of paramount importance for the people's councils and economic organizations. It is in accord with the high goals of our social development and is not only of economic and social, but also of great political importance. The impending 13th BCP Congress will set still higher and more demanding tasks along these lines as well.

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ECONOMY

BULGARIA

COMMENT ON FOREIGN CURRENCY REGULATIONS FOR INDIVIDUALS

Sofia OBSHTESTVO I PRAVO in Bulgarian No 3, 1986 pp 30-32

[Commentary: "Foreign-Currency Regulations for Individuals"]

[Text] In answer to inquiries from readers of our magazine regarding the provisions of the foreign-currency regulations of the Bulgarian People's Republic as they relate to individuals, the editors requested the specialists Candidates of Economic Sciences Borislav Penchev and Panayot Boev to comment on some of the more significant features of the Law on Transactions in Foreign-Currency Assets and on Foreign-Currency Control.

Foreign exchange in the Bulgarian People's Republic is regulated by the Law on Transactions in Foreign-Currency Assets and on Foreign-Currency Control, adopted by the National Assembly and published in the D. V. [Official Gazette] of 1 July 1966.

When we speak of transactions in foreign-currency assets, it is of special significance to know the objects and subjects thereof, all the more so since the law uses terms which have specific meaning.

Foreign-Currency Assets

Foreign-currency assets in the sense of the law are as follows: foreign banknotes and coins and paper money which are legal tender in foreign countries; checks, bills of exchange, money orders, letters of credit, payment authorizations, remittances and bills of credit denominated in foreign currency; foreign securities (stocks, bonds and coupons thereof, etc.); receipts by Bulgarian nationals from foreigners; gold silver and platinum in specie and ingots in crude and refined form and precious gems when they are the object of transactions between Bulgarian nationals and foreigners or of export and import in excess of ordinary amounts; Bulgarian banknotes, coins and securities when they are the object of export and import; checks, bills of exchange, money orders and payment authorizations denominated in leva when they are the subject of transactions between Bulgarian nationals and foreigners or of export and import.

Bulgarian Nationals

Bulgarian nationals in the sense of the law are "all physical and juridical persons with a permanent residence or headquarters in the Bulgarian People's Republic, irrespective of their citizenship."

Considered to be Bulgarian nationals besides are the following:

- persons residing abroad on a mission of the Bulgarian state or Bulgarian enterprises and organizations, as well as their family members;
- officials in Bulgarian embassies, trade representations, joint companies and firms in foreign countries, as well as their families;
- employees and workers sent to a job abroad by our engineering organizations in accordance with various technical and cultural agreements between the Bulgarian People's Republic and other countries;
- crews of Bulgarian ships, aircraft and railroad cars, such as refrigeration and service technicians, mechanics, controllers, drivers, assemblers, stew-ardesses, etc.;
- members of ensembles and individual performers who have received permission to participate abroad;
- sportsmen and women and sports workers participating in events abroad;
- all Bulgarian nationals who in the performance of their official duties receive traveling expenses in foreign currency;
- Bulgarian citizens dispatched for training, such as graduate students, students, specialists;
- persons who remain in the Bulgarian People's Republic for more than 6 months with the intention of establishing permanent domicile in the country;
- foreign citizens who live permanently in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Who Are not Bulgarian Nationals?

Foreign students enrolled in our institutions of higher learning are not Bulgarian nationals although the duration of their instruction is more than 6 months.

Nor are the following persons Bulgarian nationals: specialists working in our country on a temporary contract even if more than 6 months, as well as foreign citizens who come to our country for medical treatment even if they remain in the country for more than 6 months.

Rights and Duties of Bulgarian Nationals

When traveling to a foreign country, Bulgarian nationals may take out foreign currency authorized at the BNB [Bulgarian National Bank] in accordance with established procedure. They must present to the customs control authorities a tally-sheet of the banknotes for the foreign currency they received. Bulgarian nationals departing temporarily for CEMA-member countries may each take out up to 30 leva in Bulgarian banknotes for exchange at will into foreign currency in return for a customs declaration and up to 10 leva with a pledge to bring them back to the country. In traveling to nonsocialist countries, Bulgarian nationals have no right to take out Bulgarian bank notes other than 10 leva, with no right of exchange, for urgent needs on their return.

Bulgarian female nationals may take with them in travels abroad gold articles for personal needs: a ring [khalka, prusten] up to 10 grams, a pair of earrings up to 5 grams, a necklace or brooch up to 10 grams, a gold watch (case) up to 15 grams. Bulgarian male nationals have the right to wear one ring [khalka, prusten] up to 10 grams, gold watch (case) up to 20 grams, silver jewelry up to 250 grams per person.

Other than the above-indicated foreign-currency assets, precious gems, gold articles and securities may be exported only with the permission of the Ministry of Finance.

Bulgarian nationals traveling abroad must fill out and submit to the control authorities a customs declaration of exported foreign currency, Bulgarian banknotes, gold, silver and platinum articles, precious gems, Bulgarian and foreign postage stamps and other foreign-currency assets.

On their return to the country, Bulgarian nationals must declare in writing to the customs authorities foreign-currency assets brought into the country regardless of whether they are left over from those they took out or were acquired during their stay abroad. For foreign-currency assets brought into the country Bulgarian nationals must within 14 days request permission from competent authorities to deposit in a bank account or a receipt in leva for foreign-currency assets placed at the disposal of the Bulgarian National Bank.

Foreigners

Foreigners include the following:

--"all physical and juridical persons with a permanent residence or headquarters abroad, irrespective of their nationality" (Article 5, paragraph 1). Therefore, this category includes students who are foreign citizens enrolled in our institutions of higher learning, specialists who are foreign citizens holding a temporary job in our country under a contract, and foreign citizens who have come to our country for medical treatment regardless of the length of their stay in the country;

--persons who departed the Bulgarian People's Republic more than 6 months ago with the intention of taking up residence abroad (Article 5, paragraph 2, subparagraph "a");

--foreign diplomatic, consular, trade and other representations, members of these representations and organizations, their families and foreign citizens serving them (Article 5, paragraph 2, subparagraph "b").

A Bulgarian citizen becomes a foreigner in the sense of the law whenever one of the following conditions obtains:

--he left the country more than 6 months ago. Included here also are citizens who left for a foreign country and after 6 months have not returned. For example, if a Bulgarian national left to look after the child of his daughter who is permanently resident abroad and is a foreigner, he becomes a foreigner on the expiration of 6 months from his departure;

--if the same person went to the house of his daughter who is the spouse of a Bulgarian national sent abroad on a mission of the Bulgarian state, etc., the person in question does not become a foreigner although his stay may last more than 6 months since he has become a member of the family of a Bulgarian national resident abroad;

--he left the country with the intention of domiciling himself abroad. This includes those Bulgarian citizens to whom permission and passports for emigration have been issued.

Rights and Duties of Foreigners

On entering the country a foreigner must declare verbally to the customs authorities the Bulgarian banknotes and coins he is carrying, as well as gold, silver, platinum, securities and precious gems.

The foreign currency--banknotes, coins, checks--he is carrying are not subject to declaration.

In conformity with Article 30 of the law, foreigners may hold in the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank in a foreign-exchange leva account sums obtained from the sale of foreign currency and payment for merchandise procured from abroad or from a commission owed to him in foreign currency. Foreigners may freely withdraw sums from accounts thus formed and obtain foreign currency for these sums in accordance with the procedure established by the bank. They may have at the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank accounts current in foreign currency and deposit accounts in foreign currency. Permission to open accounts is given by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank according to its assessment of the origin of the sums it is desired to put in the accounts. Thus, for example, sums in leva from the sale of foreign currency must be authenticated by an exchange statement, while sums in leva for the delivery of merchandise and commissions must be authenticated by the economic enterprises in question rather than by private individuals.

Foreigners may have non-interest-bearing "local leva" deposit accounts in branches of the State Savings Bank in the country. Deposited in this account are sums originating from income on the depositor's own or inherited property in the country, from the sale of chattels and real estate, from the exchange

of currency, royalties, lottery and sport-pools winnings. Sums in "local leva" accounts are usable only in our country.

Ornaments brought in by foreigners beyond the usual amounts--gold, silver, platinum, coins, precious gems, gold and silver ornaments, as well as foreign means of payment--money orders, bills of exchange, securities, stocks, bonds--must be declared to customs authorities at checkpoints. Customs officers must issue inventories, against which these foreign-currency assets can be taken back out on leaving the country.

Foreigners are permitted to take out articles purchased in the country with foreign currency from special stores and stands, the bill for which must be presented to the customs officers.

Foreigners during their visits to the Bulgarian People's Republic pay for all forms of services and purchases with Bulgarian leva acquired in return for foreign currency exchanged at currency-exchange offices.

In the exchange of currency foreigners receive the equivalent of the foreign currency in leva at the BNB [Bulgarian National Bank] rate of exchange published in the monthly bulletin. They can receive a tourist 80-percent premium over and above the published rate of exchange if they have come for the purpose of touring or have paid in advance for two nights' use of hotels of the Bulgarian Tourism and Recreation Association. At the BNB official exchange rate in 1985 of 100,000 leva for U.S. \$100, in an exchange with the tourist premium they will receive 180,000 leva for \$100.

Foreign Currency Control

Bulgarian nationals may give legal tender, render services to foreigners in return for the acquisition of money due or other property abroad, may make loans to foreigners or use loans only with the permission of the Ministry of Finance. Bulgarian nationals are forbidden to make purchases and sales in foreign currency. The Bulgarian National Bank alone has this right.

The law obliges all Bulgarian nationals to declare and offer for purchase by the BNB the foreign-currency assets that become available to them in the country or abroad within 14 days from learning that they have acquired them. This applies to a legacy, gift, testamentary pension, wills and to savings from employment and assignments abroad--on final return to the country. The Ministry of Finance has the power to authorize part of the acquired foreign currency to be spent abroad, to be allotted to deposit accounts in the BNB of the nominal possessors of foreign currency or to obtain the equivalent in leva.

Savings of Bulgarian nationals in foreign currency are regulated by the Ordinance on Foreign-Currency Deposits of Bulgarian Nationals. The opening of a foreign-currency account of Bulgarian nationals results from the employment of officials in diplomatic, trade and other representations abroad and their families; specialists employed abroad and their families; specialists employed abroad; Bulgarian personnel in mixed companies, firms and international organizations; ship's crews, personnel on Bulgarian railroad cars; drivers, persons

on detached service abroad from state cooperative and socialized organizations; remittances received from abroad for pensions, gifts from relatives, legacies.

On foreign-currency deposit accounts that are opened the BNB adds an extra 2 percent interest on accounts current and 4 percent interest for term deposits. Foreign-currency assets obtained from inheritances are subject to no taxes or fees, and chattels brought into the country are exempt from customs. On gifts of foreign currency and foreign-currency assets, in conformity with the Law on Bulgarian Taxes and Fees a gift tax is paid by all Bulgarian physical and juridical persons upon the transfer of the property, including money (foreign currency), valuables, etc. On the establishment of real rights in a gift, the tax is collected as follows: on property worth up to 2400 leva 6 percent; from 2400.01 to 4000 leva 10 percent; from 4000.01 to 6000 leva 15 percent; from 6000.01 to 8000 leva 20 percent; from 8000.01 to 10,000 leva 30 percent; from 10,000.01 to 12,000 leva 40 percent; over 12,000 leva 60 percent.

In the event of a purchase of houses with foreign currency, the gift tax is reduced by 50 percent. Exempt from payment of the gift tax are ordinary gifts costing under 80 leva retail in our country, deposits into the State Savings Bank, and gifts for the benefit of spouses and descendants in an amount less than 500 leva per person per year. In case a person receives several gifts in the course of one year from the same donor, the tax is determined after adding up all the gifts. The tax on gifts for the benefit of spouses and descendants is paid with a 25 percent abatement.

The mining and processing of, and transactions in, gold, silver, platinum and precious gems are under the control of the Ministry of Finance. Gold extracted by state enterprises must without fail be given to the BNB.

Transactions in gold coins, gold, silver and platinum in ingots in crude and other form between Bulgarian nationals and between Bulgarian nationals and foreigners are prohibited. Gold and silver coins and objects of gold, silver and platinum of historical, archeological, artistic and numismatic value are given to museums in the country. The export thereof is prohibited. Gifts of gold coins under 37 grams are permissible between spouses, relatives in a direct line of descent, and in a collateral line to the third degree inclusive; by marriage to the second degree inclusive.

Penalties for Violation of Foreign-Currency Law

Violation of the Law on Transactions in Foreign-Currency Assets and on Foreign-Currency Control carries penal and administrative liability. Violations inside the country and at border checkpoints are established by indictment for foreign-currency and customs violation. If the value of the objects of the foreign-currency violation is under 20 leva, the guilty parties are punished by a fine in twice the amount, calculated in leva, plus confiscation for the benefit of the state of the object of the foreign-currency violation.

When the value of the object of the foreign-currency violation is from 20 to 500 leva, the guilty parties are punished by a fine triple the value of the object of the foreign-currency violation, calculated in leva.

For foreign-currency violations with a value over 500 leva, the violators bear penal liability in accordance with Article 250, paragraph 1 and paragraph 2 of the Criminal Code—deprivation of liberty from 1 to 6 years and a fine from 1000 to 4000 leva, plus confiscation for the benefit of the state of the object of the foreign-currency violation. In addition to punishment, the object of the criminal act is confiscated, and if it is short or has been conveyed to another, the equal value thereof is levied.

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ECONOMY

BULGARIA

BRIEF STATISTICAL DATA ON NATIONAL INCOME, CULTURE

Sofia POLITICHESKA AGITATSIYA in Bulgarian No 8, 1986 pp 44-48

[Article: "Figure, Facts, Information"]

[Text] The country's national income has increased 1.2-fold over 1980, and the social productivity of labor 18.3 percent. In 1985 the entire increase in national income was provided by the increased social productivity of labor. The physical and technical base of the national economy continued to expand and improve during this period. Fixed capital assets reached the impressive sum of 70.5 billion leva--18 billion more than in 1980. At the end of 1985 the key sector of the national economy--industry--had at its disposal 40 billion in fixed capital assets as against 27.9 billion leva in 1980.

During the 1981-1985 period capital investments in the amount of 39.6 billion leva were made. The preferential development of structure-determining sectors was ensured.

Completed and handed over for operation were projects and capacities of importance for the national economy such as the expansion of the Maritsa-Iztok TETs [thermoelectric power plant] with a 420,000-kw capacity, of the Traycho Kostov TETs in Sofia with a 25,000-kw capacity, the modernization and reconstruction of the V. I. Lenin SMK [Economic Metallurgical Combine] in Pernik for an annual production of 250,000 tons of electric steel, the Miziya DKZ [State Brickyard] in G. Oryakhovitsa for the production of 60 million bricks, and the Sht. Atanasov DKZ in Lyubimets with an annual capacity of 30 million bricks. Also completed was the building of 72 new kilometers of the USSR-NRB [Bulgarian People's Republic] gas pipeline. During the Eighth 5-Year Plan 368 km of railroad lines were converted to double track as against 344 km in the Seventh 5-Year Plan (1976-1980), and 700 km electrified as against 361 km. The Sofia-Gorna Oryakhovitsa-Varana main railroad line was converted to double track and electrified.

The basic sector of the national economy--industry--produced 24.2 percent more output in 1985 than in 1980. Compared with 1956 output, it was 14-fold more. During the entire period the structure of industry changed progressively. The sectors that are sources of technical progress developed at overtaking speed. Machine building attained the highest rate. In 1985 this sector provided more than two-thirds of the growth in industrial output. The output of the

electronic industry increased at a high rate. The contribution of the chemical industry to the growth of industrial output also was considerable.

In 1985 alone a number of important items were produced such as the following: 737 program numerical controls for metalworking machinery; 271 minisystem computers; 127 processing centers with various numerical program control systems; 498 heavy-duty program-controlled lathes; 38,000 diesel internal-combustion engines; 38 ships and vessels; 2650 buses; 33,350 integrated electric drives with high-torque electric motors; 134,965 electrotelphers; 47,055 battery-operated trucks; 41.6 billion kwh of electric power; 2,926,000 tons of steel; 3,457,000 tons of rolled ferrous metals; 383,000 tons of nitrogen fertilizers (100-percent nitrogen); 172,000 tons of phosphorus fertilizers (100-percent P_2O_5); 101,000 tons of synthetic fibers and threads, etc.

The automation and electronization of production processes are being developed at an accelerated pace. In 1985 2668 new and improved technologies and 2035 new and improved products were introduced into production, which are, respectively, 1001 and 675 more than in 1980. There were also introduced 89 automated systems for the control of technological processes, 97 industrial manipulators, 66 automated technological modules, and 637 mechanized and automated production lines.

Despite the severe conditions under which agriculture took place during the last year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, thanks to the modern physical and technical base that was employed, the chemical fertilizers, spare parts, etc., that were provided, agricultural output increased 2.3-fold over 1956 and showed a minimal decrease in relation to 1980. The output of animal husbandry increased 3.1-fold over 1956 and 7.3 percent over 1980.

The country's foreign economic relations are expanding. Foreign trade in 1985 amounted to 27.7 billion foreign-exchange leva as against 17.2 billion foreign-exchange leva in 1980. CEMA-member countries account for over 75 percent of our trade, and the USSR for over 56 percent. Today the Bulgarian People's Republic maintains reciprocal trade relations with 113 countries.

To improve trading services for the public, the trade network has been considerably expanded. New trading facilities, rayon department stores, supermarkets, furniture stores, restaurants, café-pastry shops, etc., have been opened. At the end of 1985 per 100 square kilometers of territory there were 373 stores, newsstands, shops and stands, and 237 public food-service establishments. Retail trade amounted to 15 billion leva and was 20.6 percent greater than in 1980.

The December program for raising the living standard of the people is being successfully carried out. The decree of the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, dated 25 April 1984, targeted an increase in the income of lower-paid categories of workers, improvement in the economic conditions for child-rearing, and the shouldering by society of most of the support of the rising generation, an increase in additional paid leave for child-rearing, etc.

To accelerate the execution of certain measures for raising the living standard, a decree of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Central Committee of Bulgarian Trade Unions, dated 20 October 1985, increased minimum wages and pensions and established the procedure and conditions for updating pensions with effect from 1 January 1986 and after. The nominal average annual wage during the 5 years was increased 12.1 percent and rose from 2185 in 1980 to 2550 leva in 1985. During the same period per-capita real income increased about 1.2-fold. The average annual amount of a pension became 1090 leva and the relief payments to the population were 1,099,000,000 leva. In 1985 students were paid scholarships amounting to 70 million leva.

Health services continually improved. A physician now attends 349 persons as against 407 in 1980. For the health and recreation of the workers, vacation homes were continually opened at our seaside and mountain resorts. During such a short period of only 5 years they increased by 95 and by now have come to be 1523. From 830,000 in 1980, vacationers have increased to 1,301,800.

For the cultivation of culture and the arts during the Eighth 5-Year Plan (1981-1985) 461.4 million capital-investment leva were allotted for the construction of cultural centers, reading rooms, libraries, theaters, cinemas, etc.

Today in Bulgaria 65 theaters present productions of our national and world classics. All our okrug cities have at least one theater, and in such cities as Burgas, Varna, Gabrovo, Pleven, Plovdiv, Stara Zagora, Ruse and Khaskovo there are three theaters.

In 1985 in our country 26 musical ensembles numbering 2085 artists gave 1495 concerts, attended by 690,000 people.

In 30 years the number of amateur art activities have doubled, performers have increased by 163,200, performances by 57,800, and attendance by 26,600.

There is no hamlet in Bulgaria that is not included in the network of cinemas with stationary or portable equipment.

Museums have become veritable foci of culture. As a result of the constant discovery of the cultural legacy of the past throughout our lands museum collections are continually being enriched. There are 207 museums in our country today (as against 92 in 1956).

There has been considerable progress in the reading-room and library system. In 1985 4278 reading-rooms with 1,092,000 members were active centers of our socialist culture.

Publishing activity has had wide-scale development. In 1985 5460 books (titles) were published with 62,800,000 copies printed, 1160 (titles) magazines with an annual circulation of 69,300,000, and 400 newspaper titles with an annual circulation of 1,062,447,000. Compared with the publishing activity in 1956, the per-capita ratio in terms of the annual press run of these publications is as follows:

	1985	1956
Books	7	2.8
Magazines	7.7	1.2
Newspapers	118.6	65.8.

But present-day publishing activity has not changed only quantitatively. Its thematic orientation has been diversified. In 1985 books and pamphlets intended for all ages and categories of the population were published.

Cultural centers are promoting rich and multifaceted creative and artistic activity. In 1985 there were 343 cultural centers in the country. Mass cultural events of the cultural centers in 1985 alone were attended by 6,410,000 people.

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ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ENVIRONMENT MINISTER ON RECENT WATER MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENTS

East Berlin WASSERWIRTSCHAFT-WASSERTECHNIK in German Vol 36 No 3, Apr 86
pp 50-53

[Article by Dr Hans Reichelt, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Environmental Protection and Water Management. Original title: "Development of Water Management between the 10th and 11th SED Party Congresses"]

[Text] Realization of the economic strategy determined at the 10th SED Party Congress led to a significant increase in production and efficiency in our entire economy. This made possible the successful continuation of the principal task, which unites social and economic policy, of raising the prosperity of our people further and strengthening our socialist state, and thereby the socialist community of nations, in the struggle to maintain and ensure peace. The results of this SED policy meet the interests of our entire nation and of every individual at the deepest level. It finds significant expression in the growing relationship of trust between the party of the working class and the people of our country. This was reflected in the great popular declaration and the mass initiative which included all classes and levels of society. They called for the fulfilment and surpassing on a selected basis in socialist emulation of economic plans on the occasion of the 11th SED Party Congress.

The 10th SED Party Congress Tasks in Water Management Fulfilled

In accordance with the directives of the 10th SED Party Congress, workers at the VEB Water Supply and Waste Treatment (WAB), the Water Management Boards (WWD), at the Institute for Water Management (IfW) and the VEB Combine Water Technology and Water Management Design (KWP) directed their efforts primarily towards ensuring a stable and high-quality supply of drinking water for the populace and providing industrial water for the dynamic development of production and intensification of plant production at a high level of economic efficiency. Continuous supplies of drinking water, measured by volume and freshness, and regular waste water removal and treatment were the focus of all the water management experts for the planned realization of the comprehensive home construction program which forms the nucleus of the SED's social policy.

Forty two thousand households were connected to the central drinking water network. New hookups were made to the central supply primarily in 2,800 rural

communities and localities on the inhabitants' own initiative, with the support of collectives from water management, improvement, intercooperative construction organizations and other areas. The central network now supplies 91.2 percent of the inhabitants of our country.

Waterworks capacity was increased by 14.7 percent, fulfilling the objectives of the 5-year plan by 101.7 percent. A number of major water management projects, such as the Eibenstock dam and the Burkusdorf waterworks, the second stage of expansion of the Berlin-Friedrichshagen waterworks, the first stage of expansion of the new Torgau-Ost waterworks, and many others, have been completed.

The households of 388,000 and 500,000 citizens were connected to drainage sewers and/or sewage treatment plants respectively. This raised the number of hookups by a total of 3.2 percent. The capacity of community sewage treatment plants was increased by 16.9 percent, which raised the volume of waste water treated on a regular basis. The objectives of the 5-year plan were fulfilled by 103.4 percent.

Water management experts made an important contribution to substantial growth in productivity and efficiency, mainly with highly creative work and great dedication through socialist emulation in honor of the 11th SED Party Congress. To realize the economic plan for 1986 and the objectives established for emulation, they concentrated all their energies on permanently ensuring a stable drinking water supply for our citizens and regular waste water treatment. Their principal concern is guaranteeing a stable supply in every area under all conditions--even in a sustained drought--through an additional increase in performance at the waterworks and sewage treatment plants.

Rational Use of Water--The Main Road to Intensification in Water Management

Water management experts ascribe a very high priority to the rational use of water and improved protection for our waters. These waters are extremely valuable to the economy and are objectively indispensable. We rightly understand the rational use of water as the main road to implementing the broad intensification of water management and the economic strategy of the 1980's.

In water management itself, and in many branches and areas of the economy and society, there is a continuing better understanding that management, planning and organization of the rational use of water is an important social and economic task. Completely new major tasks derive from this, particularly for the managers and staff members on water management boards.

Our water resources are not unlimited and they also cannot be increased. On the one hand, water use and consumption has reached a high level. On the other, new water management installations require great expenditure of material and financial resources and funds. For this reason, the demands of economic strategy and the current degree of water use determine the rational use of water and better protection of our waters to maintain and expand the multiple use of water.

The increase in available surface water of 230 million m^3 , achieved by WWD workers and scientists, meets these requirements. It was brought about primarily by applying modern management techniques, based on mathematical models and electronic data processing.

The cleanup of storage ponds, lakes and other waters was also carried out for intensive management of water resources. Geologists enlarged the available ground water supply, mainly as a result of hydrogeological surveying and opening up an additional 850 million m^3 in additional deposits.

Through constantly increasing efforts on the part of workers in industry in a major collaborative effort with water management experts, the result in rational utilization of water is that specific and absolute water requirements have been reduced by 25.1 and 4.9 percent respectively, while production rose. This was made possible by improvements in plant water management, the application of water use norms, expanding water circulation, the effective use of economic stimuli, but primarily through the support of broad mass initiatives in socialist emulation and in the movement for exemplary work in water management. Inseparable from this were the efforts for the better protection of our waters, while increasing reclamation of byproducts from waste water.

Almost 48 million m^3 less were taken from the public network in 1985 for industrial purposes than in 1981. Losses were reduced. In addition, industrial plants made available another 15 million m^3 of drinking water from their own installations. All this made it possible to meet the population's growing demand for drinking water, which is growing by 2.5 to 3 percent annually, with significantly smaller investments for new or expanded waterworks and extremely expensive pipelines.

It was primarily rational utilization of water in industry which made it possible at the same time to provide 20 percent more water for irrigating agricultural acreage. Today more than 1.1 million hectares are being irrigated to produce higher and stable crop yields. That is more than 18 percent of the total agricultural acreage. More than 1.6 billion m^3 of water are needed just for this purpose. Currently this constitutes more than 18 percent of the available supply in a dry year.

To bring about multiple utilization of water, to reduce environmental pollution and improve environmental conditions, workers in industry, agriculture and water management reduced pollution of our waters by several million resident equivalent units (EGW). This was achieved primarily by improved waste water treatment.

In recent years new industrial sewage treatment plants, for example at the VEB Petrochemical Combine Schwedt, in the VEB Synthesis Works Schwarzheide and in the VEB Lignite Refinement Plant Espenhain, have started operation. In 1985 trial operation began of one of the most powerful installations for the biological purification of waste water. Increasing reclamation of byproducts from waste water, or the prevention of their entry into waste water, is increasing and having a growing economic effect on improving water quality and environmental protection. At present, about 50 percent of byproducts are being

reclaimed from waste water. Good progress is being made in the reclamation of mineral oils, organic fats, sulphide washings, cellulose residues and also of heavy metals.

In the VEB Chemical Combine Bitterfeld, for example, an efficient process makes it possible to reclaim 100 tons of zinc annually from waste water used in the production of the artificial resin Wofatit. This raw material is re-processed at the Mining and Fertilizer Combine Freiberg. Workers at the VEB Paper and Cardboard Works Schwedt--a major consumer of water--remove about 15 tons of fiber annually from waste water, which are reused in manufacturing. This opens up reserves of raw material worth 2 million M annually.

These results from rational water utilization and better ground water protection made it possible to satisfy the population's growing demand for drinking water and that of agriculture for irrigation water with significantly lower costs. More than 5.2 billion M in investment costs and about 570 million kWh of electrical energy were saved. In addition, operating costs in industry and water management were 400 million M lower.

Many workers in plant water management, in the combines, industrial plants, agricultural production cooperatives, engineers in State Water Supervision and the VEB WAB, as well as managers and staff members in the special organs for environmental protection and water management from the district and county councils played a particularly large role in achieving these good results in rational water utilization and better protection for our waters in all areas of the economy.

The collectives which are competing in socialist emulation in industry, construction, transport and agriculture for the honorary title of "Plant or Combine Working for Exemplary Water Management" are leading the way in the rational utilization of water. In 1985 certificates and prizes were awarded to 143 such exemplary collectives from all areas of the economy.

Their results show what great reserves can be opened up. In these 143 plants alone, specific water requirements has fallen on an average of between 30 and 60 percent, and absolute water consumption has dropped by more than 50 million m³ since 1981. The withdrawal of drinking water from the public supply for industrial purposes was reduced by more than 9 million m³. In addition, plants supplied almost 14 million m³ of drinking water annually to the central water supply from their own installations. Byproducts worth more than 33 million M are reclaimed annually from waste water, foremost among them fats, oils, whey, yeast, draff and fibers, as well as heavy metals and others.

The Council of Ministers of the GDR decreed the tasks for rational use of water and water protection at the correct time in the 5-year plan period 1986-1990 so that they can be incorporated into the combines' or plants' concepts for refinement or intensification and integrated into their plans. These tasks were brought solidly into the preparations for the 11th SED Party Congress. During the seminars of the district councils in the fourth quarter of 1985 the outlines of the district program for RWV (rational use of water) and the necessary measures were discussed, the best experiences and new results of scientific research and technological development were generalized. On this

foundation, the process of economic renewal is to be guaranteed with basically the same use of water compared with the previous 5-year plan. The nation's growing need for drinking water is a priority and must be fully met with respect to quality and volume. Water for irrigation must continue to be made available in increasing amounts.

Specific water needs in industry must also be reduced by another 25 percent, and, most of all, absolute water consumption in the high-demand catchment regions in densely populated industrial areas must be reduced on a differentiated basis. Based on process analyses, technically controllable losses are to be reduced by 10 to 15 percent, specifically by more efficient operational water management.

To improve environmental conditions and to promote multiple utilization of water, the waste water load will be reduced by an additional 5 to 6 million resident equivalent units. The main road to achieving this--and to opening up reserves of raw material--must be seen more and more in the reclamation of byproducts from waste water.

It is also a question of further reducing withdrawals of drinking water from the public supply for manufacturing purposes, which does not have to be of potable quality, by 30 to 35 million m³. Industrial water is to replace it, or--even better--water requirements are to be reduced.

In accordance with the water law, the director generals of 271 combines and the directors of 1,435 plants recently defended their concepts when compared with the measures required for the 5-year plan running from 1986-1990. Over all, a comparison of districts and plants demonstrates that great efforts are being made to achieve excellent results for the economy and the plants by means of broad intensification, principally by applying new knowledge from research and development. Differences still exist among plants, combines, districts and ministries, which have to be eliminated everywhere by using the experience of the best in order to achieve the objectives of the directives.

Acceleration of Progress in Research and Development

Broad intensification on the basis of progress in research and development has a decisive effect on better supplies of drinking water and waste water treatment, rational utilization of water and effective protection of our waters, and on increased growth in productivity and efficiency. This is attested to by the significant results achieved by means of economic strategy as well as by the additional tasks in research and development. It can be seen today how progress in research and development will change the development of water management even more profoundly. Greater and greater success will be inevitable in making science and technology more effective in the economy by following the course of comprehensive intensification.

In the full spirit of the resolutions of the 10th SED Party Congress, water management experts are concentrating energy and funds in socialist emulation increasingly on comprehensive intensification in the interests of greater efficiency, and, as a result, they are achieving growth in productivity while

material and financial costs are falling. Expansion of capacity for drinking water and waste water treatment of about 60 percent is being carried out through rationalization and reconstruction of existing waterworks and sewage treatment plants. Their own productivity performance rose 4.5 percent annually in the last 5-year plan period. In the VEB WAB expenditures were reduced by 6.2 percent for every 100 M of goods produced.

The staff of the research center of the VEB KWP played a major part in the increased intensification. They were responsible for substantial contributions in developing new high-performance procedures and more efficient installations for plant rationalization for water supply and waste water treatment and for coming up with new technical and technological solutions for the rebuilding of the networks. These solutions include optimized filter installations for the treatment of drinking water and multi-layer and floating granule filtration and denitrification of drinking water. In waste water treatment, high-performance methods are being used increasingly, such as heavy-duty biology, enzyme sludge stabilization, deep shaft aeration, two-stage activated sludge process, pipe sedimentation and chemical elimination of phosphates.

Increases in output of up to 50 percent are being achieved, for example, with new automated solutions for drinking water treatment without new investment. By using enzyme sludge stabilization, compared with the previous method of open decomposition, stabilization time is shortened from about 50 days to less than 10 days; investment for construction costs drop by 60 to 70 percent.

Members of the IfW have similarly contributed to the quickened growth of productivity and efficiency. In this context it is of particular note that they developed models to simulate and provide prognoses for the management of ground water resources and surface water. They drew up methods for the automated management of river areas with electronic-data-processing-assisted CAM systems.

The existence of the innovators, the movement of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and activity by inventors, which have developed positively since the 10th SED Party Congress, are playing a major role in accelerating the progress of research and development. They became an increasingly important economic growth factor in water management. With them, a significant research and development potential came into being.

Water management experts increased the economic benefit of the innovator movement in the last 5-year plan period from 42.4 to 59.2 million M. This was achieved by increasing participation by 3.6 percent, to 15,1560 workers, and the benefit per participant by 29.3 percent, to 1,649 M per worker.

Great social benefits accrued primarily in those areas where demanding tasks were assigned, which lead to peak performances in crucial areas. In this context one should mention effective innovations such as the compact sewage treatment plant from the combine, the electronic module for filter ventilation from the VEB WAB Rostock and the plant for disinfecting wells from the VEB WAB Neubrandenburg.

The results of the economic initiatives of FDJ members should also be stressed, particularly in Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement (MM) and the young researchers collective. Progress was achieved in participation levels and in the degree of usefulness, as well as in the level of the exhibits. In 1985 every second young person in water management participated in the MM movement; the benefits achieved amounted to M 34.8 million. Young people in the young researcher collectives are turning more and more to automated solutions. Advanced examples of this are the microcomputer information system for production dispatchers in the VEB WAB Magdeburg, worth M 190,000 annually, and the microcomputer-assisted CAM work site for water management in the Berlin river commission for the upper reaches.

Successful Strengthening of the Materiel-Equipment Base

The decision to combine comprehensive intensification with a strengthening of the materiel-equipment base is proving to be correct. This is taking place in many areas. Today the fixed assets of water management in all areas of the economy total about M 60 billion, including M 34 billion in the area of the Ministry for Environmental Protection and Water Management. Intensive utilization of these substantial assets, comprehensive intensification and rationalization and preventive maintenance are a law of economic good sense and an unconditional requirement of the SED's economic strategy for the 1980's.

In this respect the collectives in the VEB KWP have performed magnificently. They made growing contributions to comprehensive intensification, to the accelerated growth of productivity and efficiency in the VEB Water Supply and Waste Water Treatment and in the water management boards. In 1985 the combine's worker productivity was worth M 273 million, including means of rationalization for water management installations worth M 71 million, including the manufacture of 81 robots. This increased commodity production since the 10th SED Party Congress by almost 44 percent. Selection was expanded by about 20 new products, or about 50 percent. The production program was expanded to include such high-performance equipment and machinery as the submerged-motor pump extractor equipment, the automatic suction evacuator, the miniature suppression vehicle, mobile high-pressure scavenging equipment, the electromechanical pipe cutter, the sectional pipe cutter, the small suction scavenge dredger, embankment mowing equipment and equipment for taking ground water test samples. Some of this equipment came about as the result of close collaboration between innovator collectives from the VEB WAB Erfurt and Neubrandenburg, the IfW and others. The economic structure of production in the KWP was expanded. The expansion of production of installations from M 49 million to M 94.8 million, or 93.5 percent, in the period from 1981 to 1985 is also of great importance.

In-house maintenance work rose in the same period by 49.5 percent to M 558 million. In contrast, basic assets rose by only 31.4 percent. In this way, planned preventive maintenance was increased to 71 percent. But substantial differences between the plants still exist. A comparison of the plants reveals that the most important cause of the increased fracture rate for pipes is neglect of preventive maintenance.

In spite of remarkable achievements, much greater efforts are still needed in the VEB WAB and the WVB to increase their own production of the means of rationalization and performance in preventive maintenance of installations, the pipeline networks and drainage sewers in particular, so that the justified need for these services is fully met.

Workers at the VEB WAB undertook a great deal in the past 5-year plan period to create their own repair capacity. Their priority was the repair of domestic and major consumer water meters, mobile equipment, stationary installations and MSR [metering-control-regulation] equipment. In 1985 repairs worth M 162.4 million were carried out.

With these results, the workers in the factories and water management institutions made a great contribution to the realization of the primary task, combining economic and social policy through comprehensive intensification. Further work must now consist of putting new techniques into practice, together with new equipment and means of rationalization, more consistently and in a shorter time in order to utilize the possibilities of progress in research and development more effectively.

Intensification and Improvement of Working and Living Conditions

The course being followed in the primary task is also guiding economic power toward creating better working and living conditions for the workers. This promotes their willingness to perform to a significant degree. Much has been done to make the work and life of those in water management more pleasant. Recent years have shown a good return in this area as well. The basis for a scheduled improvement in the working and living conditions of those in water management was a joint program--using the basic objectives the 10th SED Party Congress as its foundation and derived from the resolutions of the 10th FDGB Congress--which was agreed upon by the central committee of the Industrial Mining and Energy Labor Union and the Ministry for Environmental Protection and Water Management.

We have made good progress in the transformation and reorganization of jobs, in eliminating physically strenuous working conditions and in developing the workers' social conditions. With advancing mechanization and automation, as well as improved organization of work, we have been able to transform or reorganize more than 6,000 jobs since the 10th SED Party Congress; that represents 114 percent of the planned target. This means that working conditions improved for every about every fourth person in water management. Physically heavy and unhygienic work was eliminated for 2,575 production workers. Constantly increasing job safety and health protection resulted in reductions in the accident rate and illness of 23.5 and 8.2 percent respectively. It is cause for great satisfaction among many in water management that the number of places in holiday resorts of the FDGB and the plants has grown by 22 percent since 1981. Added to these are the vacation trips to the new FDGB convalescent home in Eibenstock. To bring about a further improvement in working and living conditions the Ministry and the Central Committee of IG-Mining and Energy are again working out a joint program for the period 1986-1990, which will be realized as part of the 5-year plan.

The rising educational level of the workers is proving to be a decisive premise for growth in output and efficiency in water management resulting from the mastery of the progress being made in science and technology. In our area 22.4 percent of all employees are cadres from universities or technical schools; that is almost 1,600 more than in 1980. The number of skilled workers rose by 1,740 and constitutes almost 92 percent of all workers. Currently 93 percent of those employed in water management have completed training as a skilled worker, a master workman or an education at a technical school or university.

Since 1981, 643 engineers in the specialized disciplines of water management, hydraulic construction and water supply and waste water treatment have been trained at the Engineering School for Water Management in Magdeburg, as well as 143 engineer-economists for water management in the specialized discipline of Socialist Factory Management/Engineer-Economics. Furthermore, 252 university and technical school cadres in postgraduate studies and 159 engineers from State Water Supervision and technical staff members from the WWD laboratories and the commissions for upper river reaches have received additional training. The hydrology department at the Technical University in Dresden also offers comprehensive and interesting events to provide additional training for the university and technical school cadres.

A strong system for the regular continuing education of specialists, master workmen and managers has been created. About 3,700 managers and specialists participated in the 4-week continuing education programs. Forty four thousand six hundred workers continued their qualification in the areas of sociopolitics and specialized science; that is about 2,200 more than in the period between 1976 and 1980.

To perfect managerial skills and to rationalize administrative work in the VEB WAB, a large number of young university and technical school engineers were assigned directly in production to manage, plan and organize the collectives. These measures contributed substantially raising productivity on the job, output and efficiency along the route of advancing intensification. To this end, the number of university and technical school cadres in production must continue to increase.

The multiple tasks involved in speeding up progress in research and development can find a better solution through cooperation among the CEMA countries. This cooperation is urgently necessary. To utilize our waters rationally and to protect them from pollution, the commission of the heads of water management organs is coordinating its activities. Topics such as the development of automated systems for water quality control, drafting the fundamentals of water management, as well as procedures, plant and equipment for water purification have priority. Great attention is being paid to the creation of closed water circulation systems in industry and the utilization of the material contents of waste water.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union is especially valuable for our country. The government agreement on collaboration in water purification in large cities and industrial installations has been in effect since December 1977. So far modern procedures, primarily new working principles for waste water treatment

and for the construction of large municipal sewage treatment plants have been developed. This joint work has made it possible for the partners in both countries to reduce expenditures of time and money significantly.

In the construction of the GDR's most modern sewage treatment plant in Berlin-Nord, which started continuous operation immediately before the 10th SED Party Congress, the surface area required has been reduced by more than one-half, construction costs are about M 50 million less and construction time was reduced by one-quarter, as the result of a new technology and new equipment from the Soviet Union for drying sludge. A much better ratio between costs and results was achieved.

Cooperation in research and development to protect drinking water resources and the supply of high-quality drinking water works in a similar fashion. The particular emphasis here is on the new and continued development of high-output processes, technologies, equipment and plant to treat raw water at different levels of pollution and to obtain drinking water. In addition, the partners in the two countries are involved in efforts to develop improved design technologies by applying electronic data processing.

Cooperation in research and development with the other countries of the socialist community of nations has also been developed on many fronts. This cooperation with our two socialist brother nations, the CSSR and the People's Republic of Poland, has reached a high level in water management and the protection of the waters along our borders.

As the secretary general of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker, set out at the 10th Central Committee Congress, the prospects for the GDR's development provide for the principal task determining the policy of our country over the long term. Strategic orientation for a longer period is inextricably linked with the necessity for the day-to-day fulfilment and targeted surpassing of the economic plan. Fulfilling and surpassing plans is the prerequisite for the consistent realization of the social-political program and for a strong economic force in our country, a crucial condition for an active contribution by the GDR to ensure peace.

For those in water management, fulfilling the plans means first of all ensuring each day and each hour, under all conditions, a stable drinking water supply for the population, waste water treatment and providing water for industry and agriculture. At the same time the responsibility devolves on us to guarantee the necessary proportional development of capacity and production to meet the need for drinking water, as the home construction program is implemented and our citizens prosperity increases, and for industrial water while showing a high degree of economic efficiency.

To realize the resolutions of the 10th SED Party Congress, multiple foundations were created in socialist emulation, primarily research and development bases for comprehensive intensification. In the area of the VEB KWP these include CAD/CAM processes. Exemplary solutions were implemented for the design of water management installations, which substantially reduced investment and design costs, and for the design and manufacture of water management equipment, which resulted in reduced costs and increased job productivity in manufacture.

In the VEB WAB the main concern is the application of microcomputer technology for process optimization and control of entire supply areas and the introduction of high-performance technologies based on the newest, highly efficient findings from research and development. Control models were created for process optimization for the water supply system for Magdeburg and the optimization of the water supply in Berlin, capital of the GDR. The deep-shaft process was initiated in the Bad Freienwalde sewage treatment plant and the most up-to-date biotechnological procedures were also started in the Koethen sewage treatment plant.

Initiatives in the WWD were directed towards automated water management in CAM systems, in the interests of rational water utilization and better water and high-water protection. In realizing all these ambitious tasks, those in water management can find support in what has been achieved, the willingness of the collectives to produce, their range of services, and the good experiences from prior competitions. The job at hand is to achieve an upsurge in the mass initiatives and to mobilize all the forces that have been organized in socialist emulation by the trade unions to realize the resolutions of the Party Congress and to fulfil and surpass the plans for the nation's economy.

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

PEAK BRANCHES IN INTENSIVE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by Dr Barbu Gh. Petrescu: "Peak Branches in the Process of the Intensive Development of Industry"]

[Text] In the policy for the broad promotion of science and technical progress in the entire national economy, our party constantly begins from the consideration that science constitutes the basic factor for contemporary progress and that a multilaterally developed socialist society cannot be built except on the basis of the most advanced successes of human knowledge. In this regard, the Party's Program calls for "special attention to be given to the rapid introduction into production of the advances of science, the improvement of technologies, and the raising of the technical and qualitative level of all economic activities."

The orientation towards the creation of an advanced economy based on a modern industry, incorporating into its structure the newest advances of science and technology, constitutes a fundamental coordinate of the policy of industrialization consistently promoted by our party, a policy where comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has had and has an essential role in elaborating and carrying out this policy. The determined contribution of the secretary general of the party in establishing the strategy for the industrialization of our country refers both to the scientific substantiation of this complex process through the analysis of the major implications which industry has upon the general rate of development and modernization of the national economy and upon the general progress of the country, and to the orientation of this policy towards the qualitative, intensive facets, towards the continuing modernization of all the branches of the economy in accordance with the results of the technical-scientific revolution and towards the use of material and human resources at a higher level.

In our party's view and that of its secretary general, industrialization is not reduced to the creation and expansion of industry, but rather it represents a broad and encompassing process for the formation of a powerful and multilaterally developed national economic complex where the decisive role is played by industry and, especially, those peak branches and sub-branches of high technology which better use the country's resources and social labor. Right from the Ninth Party Congress, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "being carried out during the era of the powerful worldwide technical-scientific revolution, it is imperatively necessary for industrialization to be achieved on the basis of the most advanced

technologies and to ensure the continuing introduction into production of the newest advances of science."

Corresponding to this principled orientation, over the last 2 decades we have ensured the priority development of the determining branches for the forward movement of the entire economy - metallurgy, machine-building and the chemical industry. These are branches which, through the intensity of their progress, today define the profile of Romanian economy. Compared to 1938 and an increase in industrial production of approximately 53 times over, the production of the chemical industry grew by approximately 338 times over, the machine-building industry by more than 221 times over and the ferrous metallurgy industry by approximately 63 times over. These three branches today account for over 50 percent of Romania's industrial production, thus contributing to the increase in the country's industrial power.

The role of the branches and sub-branches in the national economic complex will grow even more during the 1986-1990 five year plan, which inaugurates the stage of preponderantly intensive development, substantiated on the basis of the higher use of the entire technical, material and human potential and on the more accentuated growth of economic efficiency. In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "within the framework of the industrialization policy we will pursue the priority growth of those high technology branches and sub-branches in the fields of metallurgy, machine-building and chemicals - which will ensure development of society's technical-material base at a higher level and the use of national resources at a maximum level of efficiency - concomitantly with the development and diversification of the production of consumer goods."

The achievement of a new quality in the economy - by intensifying the degree of using raw material and energy resources and the existing production capacities and by producing products incorporating an ever greater percentage of national intelligence - is decisively influenced by the continuation of the process to modernize the structure of the national economy and especially industry. In accord with this major requirement, one of the basic objectives of the current five year plan is the continuation of the process of restructuring industry through the priority growth of the advanced processing branches and the production of high technology products and those products which consume small amounts of material resources and energy.

The Priority Promotion of Advanced Technologies

Documenting the manner in which we have implemented the directives regarding the acceleration of the country's socialist industrialization process, of organizing and modernizing the national economic complex through and on the basis of a more rapid development of those branches and sub-branches which generate technical progress, shows that there are lasting premises for fulfilling the objectives of the 1986-1990 five year plan concerning the intensive reorganization of all the sectors of the national economy and the priority promotion of those sub-branches having a high degree of complexity and those groups of products of a highly technical degree. As is stressed in the Communique regarding the fulfillment of the Sole National Economic-Social Development Plan for the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1985 and the entire 1981-1985 five year plan, during the years of the seventh five year

plan we produced and started production on approximately 16,000 new and modernized types of machinery, equipment, devices and installations, over 2,900 materials and 2,000 consumer goods with superior characteristics. This provides the conditions for accelerating the process for upgrading and modernizing production technologies in the entire economy and for carrying out the programs for the mechanization, automation, and use of electronic and robotics in production processes, with the machine-building industry providing in ever greater numbers the necessary amounts of machinery, equipment and technological installations for projects (over 90 percent in 1985).

There currently are numerous fields in which domestic requirements are fully satisfied by internal production (oil equipment, tractors and agricultural machinery, combustion motors, machine-tools, precise mechanics, electrotechnical devices, rail rolling stock, automobiles and so forth). In the future, efforts are directed towards providing the technical and technological means required by a series of national programs, such as the energy program, the program to provide and develop a raw materials base and so forth.

The upgrading of products, the continuing improvement and growth in the value of construction, technical-operational, ergonomic and esthetic characteristics of products have profound implications for reducing the consumption of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy and for increasing their durability under use. In this action, scientific research and technological engineering play a major role. In her speech at the first Congress of Science and Education, comrade academician Dr engineer Elena Ceausescu clearly stressed the need to give special attention to the broad promotion of advanced production technologies, to the amplification of technical progress and to the achievement of high quality in all products.

There has been and is special importance in fulfilling the objectives outlined in the special development programs for the peak branches, with priority on the aeronautics industry, precision mechanics, the optics industry, machine-tools and multi-operations power equipment, polymer chemistry and pure chemical products; the complex use of mineral resources having a low level of useful substances and the expansion of drilling at great depths and off-shore drilling; the higher chemical use of crude oil and natural gas; the use of new and reusable sources of energy; the improvement of technologies which contribute to increasing the degree of strength and use of metals and so forth.

The accelerated development of the peak branches and sub-branches of industry on the basis of the advances of contemporary science and technology has led to the increase the their contribution to the country's exports. Thus, the export of machinery, equipment and transport vehicles increased from 19 percent of the total amount of exports in 1965 to over 35 percent in 1985, while the import of such products fell during the same period from approximately 40 percent to below 25 percent.

In the last 2 decades, the chemical industry has experienced an especially rapid development, with its average annual rate of growth exceeding by more than 1.5 times over that of all industry during the period 1981-1985. This branch has come to represent approximately 10 percent of Romania's industrial production. The quantitative growth of production was accompanied by a permanent diversification and modernization of its list of products (totalling over 15,000 chemical products) and by a continuing increase in the efficiency and degree of use of those raw materials and energy involved in the processing. There was a continuing modernization of the micro-industrial structure of this branch and its peak sub-branches, such as the industries in medicines, synthetic fibers and threads, chemical fertilizers, fine organic products and so forth, with these coming to have a significant percentage in the production of this branch.

Also of a great importance for the attainment of the objectives concerning the continuing development and modernization of all the economy is the appearance in the lists of Romanian chemical products of certain specific biotechnological products (biostimulators), certain new rare metal catalysts and compounds, ultrapure products, new types of acrylic copolymers, auxiliary chemicals for the textile and tanning industries, new dye chemicals, laquers, paints, insecticides for agriculture and so forth.

The distinctive characteristic of the development of the Romanian chemical industry has been in its assimilation on a large scale of the advances of scientific and technical progress, with national scientific research making a decisive contribution in this regard. During the years 1976-1985, research was finalized for numerous new technologies, new products were made and important industrial projects were brought on-line on the basis of Romanian technologies. Where during the period 1970-1975 approximately 30 percent of the chemical industry's production was obtained on the basis of our own technologies, this percentage increased during the 1976-1980 period to 80 percent, reaching approximately 95 percent in 1986.

For its part, the metallurgical industry has been developed and is being developed in close connection with the requirements of the national economy, being subjected to a broad process of qualitative restructuring, concomitantly with quantitative production increases. Thus, the production of steel (whose per-inhabitant level of production is comparable to that recorded in many developed nations) is obtained to an ever greater degree using superior production procedures of continuous casting and vacuum casting, with the percentage of steel produced using the "Martin" process being reduced substantially. There has been an increase in the percentage of alloyed and refractory steels in the total amount of steel production (over 15 percent in 1985), which provides the premises for raising the technical and qualitative level of machinery, equipment and Romanian installations produced with these steels. At the same time, keeping in mind the constantly increasing requirements of the national economy and the changes that take place in the world economy, there has been an intensification, especially in the last five year plan, in the development of the non-ferrous metallurgy industry, recorded - like the ferrous industry - in the economic priorities plan so as to fully cover the domestic needs of specific raw materials.

Basic Coordinates for the Modernization of Production

The 13th Party Congress, marking the transition to the third stage of achieving the Party's Program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society, established the fundamental objective and basic directions for the country's economic and social development in the 1986-1990 five year plan and in the future, until the year 2000. As is seen in the documents of the Congress, the main path towards the fulfillment of the tasks that have been established lies in the continuation of the industrialization process on a new basis and the strengthening of the position of industry, the leading branch of the national economy. Through this guidance, once again there was a reaffirmation of our party's view and that of its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, whereby the development of the forces of production on the basis of industrialization represents an essential, decisive condition for lifting the country to new levels of economic and social progress.

Corresponding to the requirement to move all economic and social activities to a qualitatively higher level where there will be an accentuation of the role of the intensive factors of development, in the strategy of industrialization the greatest importance will continue to go to the priority growth of the peak industrial branches and sub-branches on the basis of the full incorporation of the results of advanced science, techniques and technology, and increasing the degree of modernization, intensity and efficiency. In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the Report to the 13th Party Congress that "in industry we will place in the center of all activities intensive development, the achievement of certain new products having superior qualities that will satisfy the requirements of all the branches of the national economy under better conditions... The development of industry during the next five year plan will be especially achieved through the modernization of labor and the structure of production, the improvement of the technical and qualitative level of production and the continued introduction and broad application of advanced technologies... By 1990, we will generally complete the intensive reorganization of all sectors. We will arrive at a general level of Romanian industrial production, as well as the quality and technical level of this branch, that is comparable to that of the countries which are developed from an economic point of view."

According to the Directives of the Congress, the machine-building industry will develop in the current five year plan at an average rate of 7-7.5 percent, higher than that of all industry (6-6.5 percent), especially through the accelerated growth of the highly technical sub-branches and through the massive upgrading and modernization of its products (96 percent of 1990's goods production is forecast to be composed of new and redesigned products at the level of worldwide production from the point of view of technical performance). Among the peak fields which will be promoted within the framework of this branch we should note: in the electronics industry - the accentuated development of the production of electronic components, automation equipment, equipment for industrial and professional electronics; in the field of electronic computer technology - the production of mini-computers and micro-computers for the

management of industrial processes, as well as certain new types of equipment that evolve for peripheral equipment; in the field of machine-tools - the production of machine-tools having numerical command and data displays, robots and manipulators, processing centers and flexible technological processing lines which will incorporate equipment and electronic devices of high performance; in the field of machinery, equipment and technological installations - the modernization of the production of energy equipment through the production of new types of powered equipment having high efficiency in the use of inferior coal and bituminous shale and the recovery of reusable energy resources through the production of new equipment slated for the hydroelectric and nuclear power plants, and high productivity equipment for the mechanization of work in the extraction and petroleum industries, as well as the assimilation of new types of technological equipment (metallurgical, chemical and so forth) which will permit the better use of raw materials in these industries.

With regards to the chemical industry, the documents of the 13th RCP Congress call for a priority orientation of efforts in the future towards the improvement of the structure of production, the upgrading of production, the introduction of new technologies having reduced levels of consumption, the better use of our own intelligence and scientific capabilities for the purpose of priority growth in the peak sub-branches, and the diversification of the profile of production - all these directions for action being subordinated to the main objective of adapting the structure of chemical industry production to the requirements of the national economy and the increased exigencies of the international market.

According to the provisions, the chemical industry will be developed during the current five year plan at a sustained average annual rate of 8.5 to 9 percent, higher than overall industry, accentuating its role as a supplier of raw materials and finished products for the national economy and, at the same time, increasing its contribution to the promotion of technical progress in the economy and to the improvement of the foreign balance of payments. Among the peak fields of this branch, which will be given special attention in the future structure of production, we can note: fine chemicals sector, small-volume products, ultra-pure products, semiconductors and monocrystalline materials, high purity catalysts and others; the production of white products resulting from the higher processing of crude oil; the production of hydrocarbons that can be chemicalized through the continued upgrading and modernization of crude oil processing technologies, as well as the chemicalization of natural gas; the production of liquid fertilizers and complex fertilizers having micro-elements, and the production of anti-pest products; the expansion of the production of biosynthetic and fine chemical products in the medicines industry, as well as those products which better use national resources of medicinal plants and bee and animal extracts; the accelerated development and diversification of the production of processed plastic materials and rubber materials, and so forth.

In the current stage, we are opening a broad perspective for the intensive development of metallurgy at an average annual rate of 5.8-6 percent, near

that forecast for all industry. There will be a priority expansion of the production of small-profile laminated products and pipes, which will in 1990 reach 15-15.4 million tons and 2.2 million tons, respectively. There will be a diversification in the structure through the production of certain new products having superior qualities so that we will obtain significant increases in the production of pipes, cold-drawn high resistance wire, cold-rolled laminated plate and sheet steel, steel cable, metallic cord, tin-plate and other products.

In addition to the priorities given to the different high technology sub-branches and groups of products, our country's industrialization strategy during the current stage has as its basic coordinates the incorporation of the advances of the technical-scientific revolution on a scale much larger than to date. This orientation finds a broad reflection of this in the Program-Directive for scientific research, technological development and introduction of technical progress, approved by the 13th RCP Congress. As the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, in the next five year plan and in the future in the 1990-2000 decade science will consolidate and amplify its position on the process of the development of industry and its branches in the sense that everything that is forecast to be achieved will have as its point of departure the exigencies of scientific and technical advances.

In order to obtain superior results, we see the need for the organic blending of the process of scientific research with the increase in the ability to better use the solutions offered by research. The mutual influence between technical-scientific research and economic-social activities in the industrial branches and in other sectors requires achievement through the most diverse aspects, such as: micro-industrial structures must develop, first of all, from the requirements of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution; the results of scientific and technological research must constitute the principal means for increasing labor productivity, for raising the technical and qualitative levels of products and for reducing the consumption of raw materials, materials, energy and fuels; on the basis of technical progress and the efficient use of the production potential that has been created we must ensure the substantial growth of the degree of use of raw materials, materials and energy, and the increase, in general, of the economic efficiency of production activities.

Certainly, the attainment of the objectives and orientations contained in the 13th Party Congress documents regarding the important role of the peak industrial branches and sub-branches in the new stage of the country's socialist industrialization - a preponderantly intensive stage - is indissolubly linked to the effective and responsible involvement of all workers and all communists in this broad creative, revolutionary activity.

In light of the directives and tasks formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, it is imperatively necessary to place special stress in all economic units on the higher use of the full material and labor potential in order to increase the efficiency of activities at all echelons of the economy, on the production of products of the highest technical and qualitative level, on the use and

management of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy with a maximum of care, and on the elimination of any type of waste and the strengthening of order and discipline in production. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, stressed in his speech at the 6 February 1986 session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, we have everything we need and we must do everything in order to achieve these objectives not by the end of the five year plan, but by the 14th RCP Congress.

8724

CSO: 2700/185

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

REPERCUSSIONS OF DECLINE IN LIVING STANDARD DESCRIBED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 86 pp 6-7

[Article by Slobodan Reljic: "What Lies Below the Minimum"]

[Text] Recently, prominent sociologist Josip Zupanov called the decline in our standard of living, and along with it the patience of our people, the "Yugoslav miracle."

To tell the truth, if only the figures were taken into account, it could be said that in spite of the inflation, 1985 has given us a right to be at least moderately optimistic. The decline in real personal incomes was halted in December for the first time in five years. And in spite of the frenzied race with prices, real wages grew, by 1 percent!

The January jump in prices knocked this achievement of ours backward again, since it was based on nothing more than simply paying more money.

Calculations show that last December, a quite average Yugoslav family needed 121,976 dinars for the so-called "consumer basket" of monthly expenses that was considered most normal in 1980, and that is provided that there is steam heating in the apartment. If it is heated with electricity or fuel oil, the amount is increased by about 4,000 dinars.

According to the statistics, 52,873 dinars would be required during that month just for food. We say according to the statistics, because for a long time now our average family has no longer been eating as it did in 1980.

The average personal income in Yugoslavia in December was 54,300 dinars. Of the four members of a Yugoslav family an average of only 1.6 persons are employed. Thus, 86,880 dinars could be brought home, that is 40,000 dinars short (almost 4 million old dinars). And what then? Some people cope, but many eat less varied food, wear clothing and shoes longer, avoid movies, theaters, and books, and deny their children toys, chocolate, and ice cream.

Last year, Yugoslavs' buying power was the same as in 1967.

It is most difficult for those who are employed in the textile industry. Last year, they earned an average of 28,929 dinars, even though they export a

considerable amount. As expected, those who did best were those in foreign trade (54,703 dinars), although as we know the export plan was not fulfilled in any case.

For the most part, everything is continuing in the old way.

What the Minimum Is

Recently, for the Croatian Federation of Trade Unions, the Zagreb Institute for Self-Management devised a procedure for calculating the minimum standard of living--i.e., the one that people could not go below!

It is assumed that our family that is doing poorly has a socialized apartment with 56 square meters. (!?) Each day it eats one kilogram of bread. On Sundays and holidays it even eats white bread. Each month it consumes 35 kilograms of vegetables, mostly potatoes--20 kilograms. It even eats two kilograms of tomatoes. Next, there is about 28 kilograms of fruit. Apples constitute two thirds of this. It eats 14 kilograms of meat, half of which is beef. Our family should also drink a minimum of 60 liters of milk, consume 50 eggs, 4.5 kilograms of sugar, a kilogram of coffee, a kilo of salt...

Clothing would be a little more difficult. A winter coat every five years. One pair of pants a year. Underwear has to last for six months, women's sandals for two years, and a pair of shoes for a year.

The apartment is assumed to be furnished. The monthly amortization would be 4,173 dinars.

A family living at the minimum standard of living would watch television; one of them could go once a month to a movie or a game, and read one daily newspaper. All of this should not exceed the sum of 4,000 dinars. The family could spend somewhat less on travel, municipal transportation, and a telephone. And it could spend 3,146 dinars on personal hygiene.

When all of this is added up, in December a poor family had to have at least 83,638 dinars from somewhere.

But it does not have it.

There Will Be Changes

As master of sciences Miljenko Cimesa calculated, in Croatia the average personal income can only cover 94 percent of this minimum, and that is if it is assumed that 1.7 of the four family members are employed.

Then this average family pushes ahead and does some additional work, has some kind of interest income, works in the "gray economy"--and achieves 111 percent of that minimum. That is what is assumed.

In any case, Cimesa warns that averages, estimates, and statistical truths are often deceptive, because the poorest have the lowest employment, the fewest apartments...

In Slovenia, the "minimum standard of living" of an average family is somewhat more luxurious--it also provides for a carton of cigarettes and some drinks. This would require 111,032 dinars a month.

The purpose of these procedures devised in Slovenia and Croatia is to determine the minimum for the subsistence of the worker and his family.

The figures are known. And what now?

Marjan Kompas, the executive secretary of the Commission for Working and Living Conditions of the SSH [Croatian Federation of Trade Unions] says:

"We cannot go below this price for labor."

"But won't some work organizations be unable to pay that much?"

"An initiative will be organized at once to enhance the organization of labor, to change bad production programs..."

Serbia--Without a Minimum

"And if there are no results then?"

"We cannot postpone things any longer. We will work on changing managers in work organizations. Others should come who will be able to do this. They did this in Slovenia."

Optimism and determination burst out of each of Marjan Kompas's sentences.

The Serbian trade union has not devised a procedure. Milan Sevo, the secretary of the Commission on Living and Working Conditions, says that this Croatian procedure also approximately reflects the situation in Serbia. Work is being done now on draft changes to the Law on Labor Relations. The aim is for the guaranteed personal income, in work organizations in which improvement is being carried out, to provide more of an incentive. This is by no means simple, since last year, for example, the "minimum" in Dimitrovgrad (the lowest in the republic) was only 9,619 dinars. Who can be encouraged to work by this monthly wage, and what can a meager difference of 500 or 1,000 dinars mean at all for those who are ready to get down to work?

It is known ahead of time that wages cannot catch up with prices, the trade union is advocating the creation of solidarity funds, for aid in obtaining food in winter and school equipment, for providing severance pay for those who are retiring, and for subsidizing the rent of those who are in trouble. And in all of this, the fact has also been observed that 95 percent of those employed in the republic have the opportunity to eat in workers' restaurants.

"The solution is higher productivity and higher income"--Miljan Sevo emphasizes a truth that has been uttered so many times that it already sounds like a slogan.

But until then, it is known that in Belgrade 30,000 employed are seeking social assistance, in addition to their personal incomes, in order to make ends meet. Two years ago there were less than 20,000 of them. In Serbia, more than 200,000 requests have been submitted for getting apartments or expanding them. There are 280,000 people seeking employment at the SIZs [self-managing interest communities].

Unfortunately, all of this is at a time when simple calculation shows that the average Yugoslav wage could buy 590 kilograms of bread last year, but 846 six years ago.

There are many points of irony in that expression of Zupanov's--the "Yugoslav miracle." But there is also truth.

[Boxed article p 7]

Smuggling As a Protest

Social psychologist Boro Kuzmanovic from the Philosophy Faculty in Belgrade, who has conducted several studies, says:

"Some of the middle strata now belong to the lowest stratum in terms of buying power. This decline is thus more of a problem now than the low level itself. Some of our studies show that these citizens are having a rather hard time making a living."

[Question] How are these dissatisfactions expressed?

[Answer] There is undoubtedly a great deal of dissatisfaction, but it is not focussed. Dissatisfaction with unresolved difficulties causes a deterioration in relations among people at work, and family peace is disrupted. People resort to acts that are completely opposed to socialist morality. Smuggling, for example; these trips to Turkey. This is a little private guerrilla war against the state. "If it does not care about me, why should I respect its laws?" People do not pay rent, water, or electricity bills.

[Question] What is the mood of those who are in the most trouble?

[Answer] Those who have been living below the minimum for subsistence for a long time are completely apathetic. They have been overcome by hopelessness. Some general social principles ("man is our greatest wealth") have become broken illusions for them. Their dissatisfaction can follow different paths, which do not have to be progressive. The studies show that they are inclined toward authoritarianism and egalitarianism. This means that they are inclined to believe that greater discipline, a "firmer hand," would lead first to a solution of their problems. Naturally, the demands that we all be equal in poverty are the closest. One of the paths that can be followed, unfortunately, is nationalism, especially if the "ideologues" can preach that others are responsible for their plight.

[Question] What could happen in the future if this situation lasts longer?

[Answer] Financial trouble, as we know, changes relations within the family. It can lead to a breakdown. There is less concern about the children. There is an increase in the aggressiveness of individuals. There are more frequent fights and disturbances of the peace. There are more crimes in society. I am not claiming that the criminals are necessarily from the lower strata, but there is obviously a trend here. People begin to doubt that society is just. The system of values is questioned. This is obvious, for example, in the attitude toward the social environment. I am afraid that it is considered less and less of a sin if someone steals today. It is thus an everyday occurrence that workers steal tools, or do private work during working hours. One study shows that the unemployed are having more and more doubts about social justice, social property, proclamations that those who are capable ought to get ahead, and compensation in accordance with work.

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CSO: 2800/231

MILITARY

POLAND

STAR TRUCK REDESIGN ENHANCES MILITARY CAPABILITIES

Warsaw WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 4, Apr 86 pp 150-152

[Article by Engineer Captain Leon Turcznski: "The Star 200W Lorry - Model 1986"]

[Text] The current version of the Star 200 lorries for military uses, as they are now delivered by the Starachowice Lorry Factory, consists basically of equipment with benches and mounts which permit the transportation of engineer equipment and weapons. These modifications of the lorry still fail, however, to permit the vehicle's total utilization as intended. Additionally, in aiming to expand the scope of the requirements made on military vehicles, it is planned to utilize the Star 200 lorry for:

- negotiating fords of up to 0.7 meters,
- starting the engine at low temperatures,
- meeting the requirements placed on the electrical assembly with regard to:
- protecting against radio-electronic disturbances not to exceed level "S-2,"
- applying terminals for the external starting of the engine,
- installing communications between the driver's compartment and the cargo area,
- applying commutators for the blackout lights,
- strengthening anti-fog headlights,
- enhancing the "sniper" searchlight,
- protecting the vehicle's lights and lamps from mechanical damage.

As part of a production proposal by the Starachowice Lorry Factory, a version of the Star 200W with the abovementioned modifications has been shipped to the Military Institute of Armor and Vehicular Engineering for research and analysis. In relation to the currently produced Star 200, the driver's compartment has been partially modernized and has, among other things, doors which can be

opened from the bottom. Lights from the Star 266 are being used, as is the front bumper of the Star 28. The driver's compartment has mounts and supports for transporting and securing special equipment. A straightened rear bumper, like the one on the Star 244, permits the vehicle's driving on and off railroad platforms. This bumper will become standard.

The construction of the Star 200W - Model 1986 permits the uninterrupted negotiation of fords of up to 0.7 meters deep. This was done by utilizing, as on the Star 266, a strengthened drive bridge with pneumatic differential blocks and relocating the vents of the rear bridge to the level of the frame. An air filter is utilized when the vehicle dives.

The problem of starting the vehicle's engine at low temperatures was solved the same way as with the Star 266; namely, a heater, produced in the GDR, was mounted in the forward section of the vehicle. The installation of this heater required several modifications in the cooling system and in the electrical and fuel assemblies. The fuel and electrical systems can be disconnected from the alternator without tools and can be transported in a special mount which has been put into an additional tool recess. Controlling the heater is done through an additional console located beneath the front guard of the driver's compartment. Research of this heater system, conducted at the Military Institute of Armor and Vehicular Engineering, with the S-359 motor has indicated that starting the engine at a temperature of 253K (-20°C) can be affected after 23 minutes.

The electrical system on the Star 200W carries 24 volts of power and is screened to prevent radio-electronic disturbances exceeding level "S-2;" this ensures the free utilization of onboard communications equipment. Like on the Star 266, terminals for the external starting of the engine have been mounted near the batteries. These terminals are used for connecting both the transported and onboard starting mechanisms. For the purpose of providing communications between the driver's compartment and the cargo area, in which personnel can also be transported, acoustical signal equipment has been installed. In keeping the specific requirements of military vehicles in mind, like driving in columns with blackout lights switched on, modifications in the electrical system have been made. These modifications ensure reducing unnecessary light radiation by using the NOTEK pack commutator, which is located in the driver's compartment next to the dashboard. Thanks to its connection to a socket in the frame's rear traversal, this system is also an integral part of the trailer's electrical system which is coupled to the vehicle.

The anti-fog headlights can be mounted to the vehicle's front bumper and connected to the existing headlight system. The external "snipper" searchlight, located on the roof of the driver's compartment, will be mounted on the window frame of the driver's side once production gets underway. External lights and lamps will be protected by bar-guards against any possible damage caused by driving through wooded areas.

Personnel, or cargos of up to 6 tons, can be transported in the cargo area of the Star 200W. The frame's rim is provided with struts for the installation

of cross benches and slits for adjusting the height of these benches. The vehicle's canvas covering is on arches which facilitate its mounting and removal. When the vehicle is transported on railroad cars, the arches, together with the canvas, should be removed and secured in the cargo area of the vehicle. Under the cargo area are additional struts for mounting engineer equipment and the tow cable. The entire cargo bay can be easily removed and replaced with the SARNA body by first attaching supports to the vehicle's existing frame apertures...

The Star 200 is equipped with tow-hook devices for towing trailers weighing up to 8,500 kilograms. The semi-changeable "hook and ear" TK-2 tow device (required on all military trailers) can tow a trailer weighing up to 4.5 tons. Additionally, efforts are being made to modernize the TK-2 hook for the purpose of making a similar hook standard.

In light of the abovementioned modifications, the Star 200W - Model 1986, as it is being produced by the Starachowice Lorry Factory, meets military requirements to a greater extent than the Star 200, the vehicle currently in use in military units.

General Characteristics of the Star 200W - Model 1986

Authorized total weight	10,800 kilograms
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Cargo capacity	6,000 kilograms
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Gabarit dimensions:

- length	6,510 mm
- width (without side mirrors)	2,330 mm
- height (with canvas arches)	3,200 mm

Cargo bay dimensions:

- length	4,500 mm
- width	2,200 mm
- height	500 mm

Wheel distance:

- front	1,900 mm
- rear	1,804 mm

Angle of climb	30°
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Angle of descent	25°
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Cross clearance (of the axles)	257 mm
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Smallest turning radius:

- to the left 14,100 mm
- to the right 13,850 mm

Maximum speed 90 k/h

Highway fuel expenditure with full cargo at speeds between 40-70 k/h 24 l/100 k

Propulsion 4 x 2

Engine:

- type 359M
- ignition automatic
- standard power 110 kW
- peak power 417 Nm

Transmission:

- number of gears 5 + 1
- steering manual

Drive bridge - main drive transmission with "Gleason" gears

Drive shaft - cross-joints in needle-shaped arrangement; separate and suspended from the frame's cross struts

Suspension - front: longitudinal, spring; "Armstrong" absorbers,
- rear: spring, additional rubber parallel and dual-circular springs

Wheels:

- number of wheels 6 + 1 spare
- tire size 8.25-20"
- tire pressure 0.62 MPa

Steering system: screw and ball steering system with a bent steering column and external 2F 80-60 external hydraulic auxiliary device

Hydraulic braking system with pneumatic supports, over pressure, dual-shoe

Safety brake (parking) - manual, affecting the rear wheels and activated by spring and pneumatic servo-motors

Single-line electrical assembly. Two 135Ah batteries, A 220 alternator working with the RC 1/28 regulator and R10c starter.

12247/12795

CSO: 2600/451

POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAST UNFAIR TREATMENT OF ROMANIANS BY HUNGARIANS ALLEGED

Bucharest MAGAZIN HISTORIC in Romanian Mar 86 pp 21-23

[Article by Mircea Musat: "A Single Goal of the Romanians: the Unification of Transylvania and the Banat With the Mother Country - Romania"]

[Text] For 51 years, the time that Transylvania remained part of Hungary, the Romanians in this territory were subjected to a cruel regime of social exploitation and national oppression.

On the basis of agreements concluded between the Viennese Court and the Hungarian nobility, the dual state was organized into two parts: Cisleithania (Austria) and Transleithania (Hungary), with their capitals in Vienna and Budapest, respectively. Except for military and financial affairs, as well as foreign policy, where they created joint ministries, Hungary became an independent state with its own government and parliament. The ruling classes intensified the policy of social and national exploitation in the territories that were part of the make-up of Hungary, with the actions for the forced Magyarization of the non-Magyar nationalities being raised to the level of state policy.

In December 1867, the dual empire adopted a new constitution. With regards to Hungary, the provisions of this constitution concerning the nationality problem were completed by the Hungarian law of 6 December 1868, which proclaimed the existence of a single political nation - "indivisible, the unified Magyar nation" - and decreed the Hungarian language as the sole official language. A series of laws and measures, adopted successively in 1874, 1879, 1883, 1891, 1893, 1907 and so forth regarding education at all grades, administration, the electoral system and so forth, completed the provisions for discrimination, increasing the violence of the policy of forced Magyarization for the non-Magyar nationalities.

Commenting on these measures, the American historian C. A. Macartney points out that they corresponded to the usual mentality of the ruling Hungarian classes: "The ruling Hungarian class in Hungary never regarded the Hungarian state as a multinational state. As a result, they have not done that now. It was not able to consider that the preeminence permitted through the law on the Hungarian language was a simple concession of a practical nature for the administrative efficiency of the state and that the state was no more 'theirs' than of the Slovaks or the Romanians."

Beginning in 1867, the Romanians' struggle for freedom and national unity in the Austro-Hungarian Empire entered a new phase. In 1869, the Romanian bourgeoisie organized their own political parties: the Romanian National Party in the Banat and the Romanian National Party in Transylvania, which made a significant contribution in the organization of the emancipation movement. The "activists" (the party of the people in the Banat), through their participation in the proceedings of the Hungarian parliament, maintained the nationality problem in the center of the concerns of public opinion in Hungary. The "passivists" (the Transylvanian party) boycotted the Hungarian parliament, refusing to accept the parliament's measures and considering it to be beyond the realities of Transylvania. The creation of the two parties marked the emancipation of the leadership of the Transylvanian Romanians' national movement from under the wardship of the clergy of the two churches, the United and the Orthodox, which clearly contributed to the activation of political affairs, to the broadening of concerns and to the radicalization of the national movement. All these efforts were directed towards a single purpose: the preservation of national identity and resistance against the aggressive and brutal policy of the Hungarian state for the forced Magyarization of the Romanians.

The struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians for freedom and national unity took on new dimensions following the popular war carried out in 1877-1878 by all the Romanian people in a spirit of enthusiastic national solidarity for the victory of Romania's absolute state independence and the affirmation of the Romanian state in international relations. In referring to this aspect, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Gustav Kalnoky, wrote in a letter penned in 1881: "Having appeared from modest beginnings, the Romanian state knew to first gain recognition of its independence and later, gradually, its international rank and position. One cannot contest the Romanian people's capacity for cultural development in the sense of the ideas of a modern state. The start-up of their national spirit led to the founding - and, according to all estimates, to a durable founding - of a state, certainly not a faultless one, but one absolutely full of life and efficiency." And, continuing, the Hungarian official found: "It was inevitable that the visions of the Romanians in Transylvania would be directed towards their brothers beyond the Carpathians, towards the state related to them as a people, who had lifted themselves up, becoming a member of the family of European peoples, equal in the rights on an international level, who were increasing their forces and who were broadening their military abilities, abilities at the beginning that were underestimated and which visibly obtained power and prestige abroad. It willingly offered an asylum for the present and a hope for the future to all the unhappy elements. The population of Romania passionately united its voice with the complaints against the denationalization and despotism." Reflecting upon the situation in Transylvania the letter states: "In the total number of the population in the provinces of the Hungarian Crown, of approximately 15.5 million people, Hungarians hold a minority which, even according to the most favorable evaluations, remains much below the 7 million figure. Approximately this same number (7,000,000) is the accepted figure for the numerical count of the total Romanian element." Despite all this, it recognized that "their representation in the Hungarian Diet was always minimal. Not one Romanian is found or has ever been found in a prominent public position."

The entire suite of reactionary measures and restrictions taken by the Dualist authorities against the Romanians and the other peoples suppressed within the Austro-Hungarian Empire never blocked the struggle of these people for freedom and national unity. What is significant for the spirit of the Transylvanian Romanians during those years is the report of the news agent Friedrich Lachmann, completed in September 1881 following discussions he had in Brasov with members of the Muresanu family, about whom this agent stated that "they belong to the category of those fiery partisans of Greater Romania who have but a single goal before their eyes: to be united one day with their compatriots beyond the mountains."

The Brutal Policy of Denationalization

Right from the first moments of the creation of the Dualist regime, the Hungarian government made official the old policy of assimilating the other nationalities through Magyarization. Certainly, other empires which have ruled over other people have also used the method of denationalizing them, but the Hungarian government raised it to the level of state policy and brutally promoted it. In the vast actions conceived to eliminate the nationalities, the parliament in Budapest voted laws through which it was decided even to Magyarize family names, the names of cities and villages and the names of institutes in Transylvania. The Romanian press was subjected to certain continuing pressures and the Hungarian censor prohibited any type of attempt to support or promote the interests of the Romanian nation. The renown English historian R. V. Seton-Watson wrote: "The law on the press called for the obligatory depositing of a guarantee for the publication of any periodical, with the value of this guarantee reaching up to 10,000 florints. For each publication they required an example to be submitted in advance, both to the Ministry of the Interior and to the Court and the Prosecutor of the Court of Appeals in the region involved. Fines and punishments including up to 2 years in jail were given out for any article interpreted as being contrary to the interests of the Hungarian state."

On the basis of the Electoral Law voted by the Diet in Pest in 1874, only 3.3 percent of the Transylvanian Romanians had the right to vote. Referring to this case, the consul general of Great Britain in Budapest pointed out: "The Special Electoral Law for Transylvania gives the privilege to complain... In purely Romanian districts, an electoral district is composed of thousands of voters, while in those districts with a mixed population there are barely a hundred... The Romanians are excluded by all types of ruses from administrative positions gained by elections, even though in some districts they account for 96 to 97 percent of the population and in those places there are no abstentions on their part from the voting. In this manner the state positions are inaccessible for them. According to one statistic that I examined, only two percent of the state jobs were filled by persons of the Romanian nationality."

The Hungarian government did not tolerate the existence of a Romanian political party and through Order No 321/1894 it called for the dissolution of the Romanian National Party (created in 1881 through the unification of the two parties established in 1869). Another circular order from 6 January 1895 stated that

"anyone who participates in meetings or convenes meetings as a response (to calls) from the leadership of the above-named party will be punished in accordance with paragraph 16 of the article of Law XL of 1879 and on the basis of this order with a jail sentence and a fine."

These measures had direct consequences upon the presence of the Romanians in political affairs. For example, in 1910, the Parliament in Budapest was composed of 413 deputies, of which 393 were Hungarians, 13 German, 2 Slovak and 5 Romanian, percentages totally revealing for the serious political discrimination and for the policy to eliminate the roots of the Romanian nationality.

Furthermore, this policy was clearly expressed by Geza Kosztenszki in the book "Politica nationala" [National Policy]. Renouncing any type of reservations, he wrote: "Let us set aside the conventional lie whereby we pretend that we do not want to murder the non-Magyar nationalities. Yes, we want to suppress them and we must suppress them!" In the same sense, Dezso Banffy, the former prime minister from 1895-1899, stated: "My chauvinist policy is an irresistible aspiration for one determined purpose and towards attaining it at any price. The purpose is the creation of a unified Hungarian state with a single language."

In opposition to the reactionary policy of the ruling circles, a series of progressive intellectuals raised their voices in defense of the cause of the oppressed peoples: "I learned from the devote professor Palfi that it is patriotic to curse the Germans, the Serbs, the Romanians, the Slovaks. Should it be so? If it is so, I solemnly declare that I am not a patriot. I value any people, language, religion, conviction and right extra et intra Hungaryism." For his part, the Hungarian deputy Lajos Mocsari wrote in the great daily newspaper EGYETERTES on 25 December 1907: "An excessive fear pushes us to commit truly extravagant actions. I am referring to the general tendency of Magyarization. I know very well that here, there people deny this truth, but then why do they frenetically applaud in the four corners of the country every time the great chauvinist Banffy repeats that our country will not be happy until the last individual belonging to the Romanian or Slovak race is transformed into a veritable Hungarian? ...Let us not wish for impossible things. We have nothing to do with other peoples, such as the Flemish or the Basques, but we have right before us national groups that are conscientious and filled with progress."

Especially harsh were the measures taken in regard to schools. In 1879, the Diet in Pest voted a new school law which called for obligatory teaching in the Hungarian language in all the schools in Hungary. This law was completed with the ones adopted on 1 April and 9 May 1907 (the Apponyi Laws), with these laws expressing the policy of the Hungarian government for the forced Magyarization in the field of education.

"For Confidential Use"

Magyarization, as practiced through the most varied means and in many forms, far from leading to the desired results brought about an intensification of

national resistance and a growth in the struggle for freedom. Carrying out a review, the newspaper EGYETERTES found in June 1904: "After 30 years of Magyarizing legislation, Magyarization of the nationalities is an impossibility, an hallucination which does nothing more than feed and constantly nurish the deep unhappiness of the non-Hungarian nationalities." And, the newspaper BUDAPESTI HIRLAP of 18 May 1904, under the banner of Gustav Bekistas, a passionate promoter and supporter of the Magyarization policy, found that "the mastery of the language makes no one a Hungarian... Even the Daco-Romanian and Slovakian agitators know the Hungarian language as well as possible. Generally, the cultured classes of the Slovaks and Romanians speak our language. Despite all this, they do not, unfortunately, stand alongside the Hungarian-national cause."

Both the Tisza government, in power for 15 years (1875-1890) as well as the other Hungarian governments which followed it, did not conceive Hungary other than through the prism of the uninational state and of the supremacy of the Hungarian element. The policy of the different governments was different only through the manner in which they conceived the process of Magyarization and the violence with which they pursued the absolute domination of the Hungarian state over the Romanian majority in Transylvania and the other nationalities that were under the rule of Hungary.

In 1897, the Hungarian foreign minister drew up, under the guidance of Antal Huszar, a broad work having a top secret nature, published in only a small number of copies and forwarded exclusively to the members of the government, referring to the Romanians in Hungary. The authors of the work entitled "Romanii din Ungaria. Spre intrebuintare confidentiale" [The Romanians in Hungary. For Confidential Use] analyzed the main factors that were supporting the Romanian national movement and which "are sparking every day ever more intensively among the Romanian people feelings and aspirations directed against the Hungarian state and which are hidden under the name of national awareness." It also formulated specific proposals to intensify actions for the denationalization of the Romanians, requiring them to work with "an energy that will know no let up." They proposed the replacement of the Romanian language with Hungarian in all Romanian schools (as the teaching language); strict, severe and systematic control in all Romanian schools, boarding schools and museums of these schools, school programs, choral and orchestral activities and so forth, the dissolution of the Astra and, at the same time, changing its name to the Literary and Cultural Society of Romanians in Hungary; the disestablishment of the branches (by region) of the Astra; the disestablishment of the village libraries of the Astra, the strict control of all its activities, the removal of "nationalist" books from the libraries and so forth; the massive increase in the guarantees that had to be paid in order to publish Romanian newspapers ("The measure should be effective given the precarious material situation of the Romanians") and the condemnation of Romanian newsletters to ordinary subjects instead of political ones, the cancellation of free passes for the railroads and so forth.

Basically, all this documentation proves with incontestable arguments that the struggle for national liberation was a general phenomenon which involved

the entire mass of three and one-half million Romanians, a phenomenon impossible to "limit," "bury" or "destroy." The measures taken in the following years, regardless of their nature and how drastic they were, did not attain their final goal but caused much and great suffering to a generation heavily burdened during those times. Among these measures a separate place goes to the famous law on schools approved in 1907 and whose purpose was thus mentioned in Parliament by its author, Count Albert Appony: "In several years, it (the law) will destroy all the unpatriotic schools, (since) each school and each teacher, without consideration to the nature of the school or whether it benefits from state assistance or not, will be required to develop and strengthen in the soul of the student the spirit of unity towards the Hungarian nation. This point of view must dominate all instruction." And, he was also the one who supported modifying the penal code adopted in 1894 in order to meet the "agitation of those without a country," since "the keen eye and hand which punishes and defends the Hungarian state must intervene with authority. Until now, we have dealt with this problem in too cavalier a manner!"

8724

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

SDI SEEN AS HEAVY ECONOMIC BURDEN ON SOVIETS

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 3, Mar 86 pp 204-212

[Article by Colonel Imre Bokor, engineer and doctor of military science: "Starwars"--With Falling Stars"]

[Excerpts] It is a logical and inevitable consequence of the armament race that the parties involved will grasp at every possibility in the interest of modernization and advancement. Consequently, we must have no illusions whatsoever that they would balk at using outer space. Putting it differently, without halting the armament race, it cannot be expected that they would pass up the new warfare technologies or the expansion of their field of application (action). Thus, these bald and somber facts don't quite serve to enhance an optimistic mood. The experiences of the last few decades are unfortunate proof that the rate of the armament race could not be decreased.

At the same time, in the development of the arms race during the period after WWII, a sharp distinction must be made between the party provoking (starting and continually renewing) the race and the party forced into the armament race on the basis of concrete facts proven beyond any shadow of doubt. The USA, as the initiator of the armament race, has again taken the (expected) next step toward the "militarization" of outer space.

I begin with the remark that--in my opinion--SDI was started long ago by the Pentagon involving various civilian and military research institutions and the war industry, or at least they have engaged in detailed preparatory work and partial programs which, through integration and further development, make the continuation of the program possible, in its present, planned form. Among the partial programs are the experiments conducted with the Columbia, Challenger, Discovery and Atlantis space ships, the construction of ground control station systems and bases and, furthermore, research on the so-called "multi-layered" cosmic defense system carried out under diverse code names (LODE = Large Optic Demonstration--ray weapons located in outer space; LAMP = Large Army Mirror Program--the focussing and targeting of ground-based radiant energy weapons by means of mirrors located in outer space; ADAT = Antisatellite--rocket to destroy artificial satellites; TALON GOLD = Golden fin--destructive clouds produced by "passive" means, etc.)

USA policy after WWII has been basically unchanged and it has been crystal clear in the sense that it aims to deal with everyone from a position of strength, to enforce its will by means of political, economic or military pressure over anyone be it an ally, a neutral party or an enemy. To this effect it has continually modernized its weapons, established hundreds of bases the world over, instituted aggressive military alliances and interfered, directly or indirectly, with every progressive movement.

Essentially, it has never camouflaged its anti-Soviet policy. During the past decades it has done virtually everything to put the Soviet Union and the socialist camp into a difficult position and to hinder their development in the political, ideological, economic, military and also scientific-technical areas. Among others, armament is also subject to this policy and, consequently, it has had an unbroken (continuously) aggressive and provocative character. This fact has remained essentially unchanged even when they verbally advocated agreement and thaw and signed disarmament agreements. These may be tactical moves with the lifespan of a day fly.

According to the judgement of respected economists, the military industry "provides" the highest profits in the capitalist world, its four percent yield being far above every other industrial sector. The electronics industry is in prominent second place on the list. Because the electronics industry is the biggest "supplier" of the military industry, it is very easy to understand why the development of space weapons has been continuous and has produced truly spectacular results. Consequently, it is also not by chance that expenses associated with the conquest of outer space make up a significant part of the USA military budget.

It can be viewed as a decisive economic consideration on the part of the USA that if the total costs of SDI are around several hundred billion dollars then the corresponding Soviet (response) program must also spend as much. Thus, there is a two-fold profit: their technological supremacy increases, their leading role within the capitalist world is enhanced while at the same time the "embodiment of everything evil" is forced to invest a significant part of its budget in outer space instead of the people's economy.

This economic (directional) strategy of the capitalist world against the Soviet Union has remained virtually unchanged ever since the existence of the latter; at the most, there were periodic tactical modifications. Although, beginning with the 1920's, it must have become clear that the Soviet Union cannot be coerced, be made to retreat in matters of principle or be weakened in its defensive and offensive capacity by means of blackmail, boycott, economic sanctions or political pressure, this strategy has been maintained virtually unchanged. The Soviet people have accepted the difficulties, their tolerance cannot be compared with that of the Western World and thus it is completely futile to wait for its exhaustion.

It does not mean, of course, that the economic strategy of the USA does not pose problems and difficulties for the Soviet Union or the socialist camp. It should not be denied that the SDI program will only increase these difficulties but the difficulties of the Soviet Union and of the socialist camp, added to the material resources wasted on the senseless armament race,

will, in the final analysis, also increase the difficulties of the capitalist world.

It seems that, because of the apparently promising short-range economic program, the leading authorities of the USA and of the NATO countries do not see the series of easily predictable long-range difficulties particularly those where there will be no chance for correction. The apparent truth of this economic narrow-mindedness is also supported by the technical problems analyzed in the following.

The situation is made more complex by the possibility of launching several rockets from different locations and, therefore, the number of sensors must also be increased as a function of the number of rockets a given installation (or complex) is capable of sensing or the number of rockets expected to be deployed. In practice it looks--to "transplant" the problems into the field of soccer--as if one side would play with several balls and would "bombard" the opposing goal with several balls from various distances and directions (angles) with the possibility that each given ball could separate into 8 to 10 smaller balls moving along their individual courses in the direction of the goal.

In such an extreme case, in the interest of avoiding defeat among the hail of balls, defense ought to be strengthened by a multiple (sectional) layer of defenses further away from the goal to interrupt the path of the balls flying toward it. With SDI, the aim is served by the conception of producing a multilayer, sectional defense within which various destructive means from various positions would exert their effect against the rockets (flying bodies).

Scientists and planners view the use of laser weapons as the most promising. It offers several possibilities with respect to implementation. In one version, the laser weapons would be set up in space together with the energy source; in another version, the laser rays would be "projected" from ground-based objects to the laser mirror moving in a geostationary orbit which would "transmit" them toward the rocket in order to destroy it.

Both versions have advantages but mainly disadvantages. An active laser emitter placed on a military space station requires the use of about six tons of fuel for the destruction of 15 rockets at the most. With the current "rocket stock," the USA would need about 700 military space stations. This would absorb an enormous sum of money, about 15 to 20 times more than the other solution. With that solution, the problems that emerge are extensive atmospheric interference (in the case of a very cloudy sky transmission might even become impossible) and the periodically unfavorable position of the mirrors on account of the periodicity of their orbits. Because of these considerations, several ground stations will be needed. (The total energy demand of the installations is 32 GW. The atomic energy plant of Paks, after its completions, will produce somewhat more than 1.6 GW.)

Passive Technical Solutions (Countermeasures)

1. Detection of the rockets at their launching and in their active phase (during the time of active propulsion) can be made very difficult by means of decoy fire sources and infra-traps (small rockets emitting high performance infrared (heat) rays, deployed in various directions) and the sensor can be deceived.
2. The "heat resistance capacity" of the rocket bodies can be increased with various metal and ceramic coatings and reflecting surfaces.
3. The fire emitted by the rocket can be "shaded" to a significant extent.
4. With the use of new fuels and "increased miniaturization," the active phase period of the rocket can be shortened.

Active Technical Solutions (Countermeasures)

1. The space installations (detectors, destroyers) can be detected and destroyed.
2. The number of rockets can be increased.
3. The contact (information transmission) between the space objects and the ground or air plane-based objects can be interfered with.

Doubts

1. The laser (or other) radiation reaching the rocket body will destroy (make ineffective) the rocket only if it hits the fuel system or the propulsion mechanism in the active phase or if it damages the nuclear structure. Considering the velocity of the rocket, the possible inaccuracy of aiming and the rockets dimensions (25 to 50 m), the probability is not excluded that it will not be destroyed even when "hit" especially when it is hit in the non-active phase.
2. When a large number of rockets is deployed (nearly simultaneously), it does not seem unequivocally solved that the sensors and the destructive weapons would precisely resolve (distinguish between) the individual targets, that is, that they would not "concentrate" on one rocket or one group of rockets while ignoring the other rockets in the "pile."
3. Against a large number of rockets at great distances (several tens, hundreds or thousands of km) from each other, deployed from different sites, only an increase in the number of space weapons (objects) could provide protection. If this were to be followed by an increase in the number of rockets (with cost effects far below that of the space objects) then the current question mark attached to the meaningfulness of the SDI program would need to be replaced by a completely new notation indicative of a super-

order of magnitude of futility, senselessness and irreality. In my opinion, implementation of any of the countermeasures would shake the entire SDI in its foundations while the feasibility of the passive and active variations listed can be assured with 100 percent certainty under the current stage of technical development.

Implementation of the SDI program planned by the USA would obviously change the current balance of power irrespective of how credulous or doubting one may be in judging the motives of the program. In spite of the fact that they are completely clear about the steps the Soviet Union would take in response, they would not desist from carrying out their plan. Thereby they had essentially decided in favor of military escalation.

My goal was to promote the realistic evaluation of the USA Starwar plans, the underlying motives and correlations, by those interested. And, through it, the danger threatening humanity and our globe.

2473

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POLITICS

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SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

Péter Halmi

TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASSOCIATIONS IN HUNGARIAN AGRICULTURE

The study examines the causes of why the largest number of association organizations in Hungary function in the sphere of interest of agricultural enterprises. The author proves that the causes of the spread of these forms can be found in the functioning of the economic mechanism. This process was particularly accelerated following the comprehensive reform of the Hungarian system of economic management in 1968 when regulated market conditions unfolded most of all in the agricultural area. The study examines in detail the changes in the organizational forms of the associations and the record of economic performance. It characterises the end of the 70s as a turning point when the reregulation of the organizational conditions of associations and restrictive economic political measures emerged simultaneously. The study draws important conclusions about the place of associations in the organizational system, as well as their further development.

György Szoboszlai

THE ROLE OF STATE INSTITUTIONS AND THE MAJOR DIRECTIONS OF THEIR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

The present constitutional model in Hungary evolved at the end of the 1940s and on several counts can be regarded as outmoded. The profound changes that have taken place in the system of economic management are not reflected in this model. The study deals with the contradictions burdening this statehood. The author, after discussing the question of the place of the state in the political system and of the social control of the state, puts forward specific proposals for the further development of individual institutions of the state, particularly of the activity of the government. According to this study the functions of the party and of the state must be separated even more effectively than hitherto and thereby the political role of the central organ of representation as well as that of the prime minister could be increased.

Attila Ágh

ON THE HISTORICAL TYPOLOGY OF BURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The point of departure of the study is the question as to how political development can be conceptualized in the international and the national system. It emphasizes four major criteria in the development of national political systems as the foundations for the comparative study of political theory:

1. Structural differentiation 2. The extent of participation in the political system 3. The unfolding of citizens' (civil) rights and 4. The differentiation of the micro and macro political (local and state) levels.

According to the author all these four features are characteristic of all developed bourgeois democracies although to varying degrees.

The classical type of structural differentiation is France, where the bourgeois democratic institutions emerged earlier than elsewhere and they were established most fully. Whereas political participation and together with it political culture developed to the greatest extent in England. The extension of civil rights into social rights took place primarily historically in German development while the separation of local levels of power and state politics took place in the United States. The study examines the major types of bourgeois democracy on the basis of the historical development of the above four countries.

Gyula Tokody

THE EFFECT OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM ON SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL THINKING (THE 1950s AND THE 1960s)

In terms of an introduction, the study refers to the passive or specifically negative behaviour displayed by the Western European social democratic parties towards the national liberation movements of the colonies after the years immediately following the Second World War. Although the Frankfurt Declaration of 1951 already recognized the historical significance of the movement, it did not produce a turning point in the colonial ideology of social democracy. For a while the idea lingered on in the Socialist International, that in the colonial world only those trade unions and parties can come up as allies, which accept the basic principles of social democracy. The genuine acceptance of revolutions and the national liberation movements did not take place despite the disappearance of the outdated views of positive colonial policy and the acceptance in principle of the right of national self-determination. The study then goes on to describe the situation of social democracy in Asia, in Latin-America and in Africa at the time.

As a result of further changes of world historical significance that have taken place at the end of the fifties and at the beginning of the sixties noteworthy changes could be observed in the attitude of social democracy, as well. Summarizing the causes and major signs, the study analyses the relevant statements of the Oslo Declaration of 1962, pointing out that although democratic socialism did define new goals, it did not provide a social concept fundamentally different from capitalism. To prove this, the study describes German and Austrian English and French social democratic views and positions. However the 1960s did not bring further conceptual changes, these took place only during the seventies under the influence of the world economic reverberations and of the great regional centers of crisis.

Éva Standaesky

THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND LITERARY PUBLIC LIFE
(AUTUMN, 1946—AUTUMN, 1947) (2.)

The economic and political changes that occurred in the second half of 1946 favourably influenced the development of literary life. After the Third Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party the communists turned to literature with increased interest. The newly published journals ("Újhold"—"New Moon", "Válasz"—"Reply") were reviewed by György Lukács in the "Fórum", the communist directed people's front paper.

From the of 1946—1947 on the tone of communists became sharper than earlier. This was due to the fact that the struggle for power was becoming more acute. Communist politicians dealing with literature started to criticize the surviving traditions of "Nyugat—West" and the literary line represented by "Válasz—Reply" more sharply. In 1947 the proponents within the Hungarian Communist Party of the faster and the more moderate realization of socialism became more separated than before. The differing views did not crystallize into-party trends at the same time the proponents of more radical development were able to advocate their views for a few months in their own papers, the "Emberség"—"Decency" "Tovább"—"Further".

Just as in the previous two years, in 1947, too, György Lukács was the most significant figure in communist literary criticism. In several writings and speeches he called attention to the drawbacks of the spread of left-wing radicalism. At the same time a certain degree of disappointment can be detected in his writings of that period. In the exaggerated political and ideological polarization he was a threat to his concept based on the gradualness of development.

Lajos Izsák

THE PEASANT-BURGEON AND OPPOSITION PARTIES, THEIR
LEADERS AND PROGRAMS AT THE TIME OF THE LIBERATION

In Hungary the left wing parties (Hungarian Communist Party, Social Democratic Party, National Peasant Party) constituted the backbone of the new people's democratic power which emerged at the end of 1944. This alliance, however, did also need, for the sake of the creation and maintenance of people's democracy, the bourgeois forces of democracy, the representation of which within the coalition was undertaken by two parties: the Independent Small-holders and Agricultural Labours and Burgeois Party (FKGP) and the Burgeois Democratic Party (PDP).

On the basis of the author's own research and making use of the newest achievements of research into the period, the study undertakes to introduce the contemporary program of the FKGP and PDP as well as the life path and positions of their leaders (Ferenc Nagy, Zoltán Tildy, István Dobi, Géza Supka, Géza Teleki, Ernő Bródi and others) in the beginning of people's democracy. Furthermore, it briefly analyses the contemporary role and program of those political groupings and parties (Hungarian Radical Party, Christian Democratic People's Party, Democratic People's Party) which for a variety of reasons were not included in the coalition, but whose activities to a certain extent, did influence the way events evolved.

István Németh

THE MAIN FEATURES OF HUNGARIAN—GERMAN RELATIONS AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIES AND THE THIRTIES

At the turn of the 1920s and 30s, basically during the years of the world economic crisis Hungarian—German relations lagged far behind Hungarian desires. The so-called policy of fulfilment of the Weimar Republic was pursuing the middle course of moderate and cautious demands.

The differences of views were most acute in the sphere of economic relations. Hungarian politicians were reasoning against the reluctance to import Hungarian agricultural products by claiming the inseparability of political and economic questions and they made the further evolvement of the political relations of the two countries dependent on the success of the conclusion of a trade agreement. In contrast the German policy of the Weimar period professed the separation of economic and political questions and did not initiate the improvement of the relationship between the two countries.

Many mutual accusations were made in connection with the German minority in Hungary. The differences of views arose first of all in connection with the schooling, cultural and political activities of the Germans in Hungary and with the agitation of empirical German organizations in Hungary as well as the co-ordinated action of the German minorities of Hungary and of the neighbouring states to be made to serve Hungarian revisionary purposes and all this gravely burdened Hungarian—German relations.

At the official level it was only Hungarian—German military relations which were unbroken. Beyond the close connections between military leaders, cooperation in military technology and training which started at the turn of the 20's and the 30's and later the agreements on the exchange of information and intelligence and the unified stand taken at the disarmament conference in Geneva constituted the most important areas. In these relations, however, the Hungarian side was getting more and more clearly into a subordinated position.

At the end of the world economic crisis—after all the attempts of getting a settlement in the Danube valley failed—Hungary was facing a formal possibility of choice: to request German or Italian political support and economic assistance. After a short period of maneuvering, Gömbös leaned toward Germany for economic-political and military considerations. The trade agreement of 1934 constituted short term advantages for the country from the economic point of view but its room to maneuver was becoming more and more restricted.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PRECONGRESS CONFERENCES CONTINUE, MORE CRITICISM NOTED

Mazowieckie Petrochemical Works

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Apr 86 pp 1, 5

[Article by Lech Winiarski: "Tasks for Oneself and Demands for Everyone"]

[Excerpts] The PZPR conferences at large industrial plants have been devoted to summing up the results to date of the campaign preceding the 10th PZPR Congress, and discussing the party's draft Program, the attitudes of its members, and the activities of party organizations serving well organized and creative work.

"You, comrade president, are responsible for this neglect, for the poor work of Plock trade, for the sluggish pace of housing repair, and the organizational mess in communal services. It is your office that is at fault..."

These words of criticism, uttered from the rostrum of the pregress PZPR plant conference at the Mazowieckie Refinery and Petrochemical Works (5 April) by Edward Chondoszka, can constitute an example of the strong down-to-earth approach, and the energetic reaction of the delegates to local issues and to the needs of their own area.

At this giant of the petrochemical industry, whose daily production is worth 1 billion zlotys, every leaking valve, every leak from the apparatus must be counted as whole millions of zlotys. A ton of steam escaping to the outside contains 4 kilograms of sulphur dioxide, a very toxic component that is harmful to people and reduces crop yields.

Economic and production issues acquire political weight in the party's work, because they are associated with the formation of a new way of thinking, of opposing conservatism and longings for the old style of management, the administrative-command type.

Based on the substantive discussion of the draft Program by the POPs [primary party organizations] and OOPs [district party organizations], and on the individual talks conducted with party members and candidates, the Plant Committee prepared an extensive document, which formulates proposals in a very

clear manner for the central authorities, followed by the provincial and local authorities, and finally the management of Petrochemia, including the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee].

Each of the delegates received this document, which certainly inspired a substantive and critical discussion. The delegates viewed their own areas self-critically. There is an urgent need to reconstruct and modernize the equipment. In some sections, it has been 70 percent used up. The role of the plant's Design Bureau is therefore very important; unfortunately, it is not performing its tasks as it should.

Andrzej Zomer, the chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Combine Board, gave a very critical assessment of the unfriendly attitude of some foremen and supervisors toward young workers.

Now, let us discuss the proposals and suggestions sent by the conference to the Central Committee, to the top state authorities, and above all to the upcoming 10th PZPR Congress.

It was insisted that the party ensure greater effectiveness for the socioeconomic policy outlined in the resolution from the 9th Congress. This effectiveness is being limited by the growing trends toward centralized management, the growth in the number of echelons between ministries and enterprises, and the increasing number of instructions from above, as Wojciech Ruminaki, the first secretary of the Plant Committee, stated in opening the discussion.

Numerous speakers developed upon and illustrated the comments indicated by him. Zdzislaw Borowiec from the Center for Development Research spoke about the harm done to technical progress and the adoption of modern designs by the changes in the financial regulations.

Edward Baranowski insisted that the party draw up a report on the state of the economy at the 10th Congress; he demanded a more precise definition of the concept of the productivity of labor, since the generally accepted one, the amount of production divided by the number of employees, is misleading and does not elicit efficiency. He referred critically to the liquidation of three ministries -- those for issues of the economic reform, prices, and trade unions.

Marian Wozniak, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Central Committee, assessing the preparations and course of the conference with appreciation, discussed the main trends in the party's socioeconomic policy, and emphasized the significance of the pre-congress debate. It should lead to a crystallization of very concrete indicators for the 5-year plan, so that the 10th Congress's resolution will be a precise and realistic one, not propaganda. The discussion of the Congress Theses that is beginning will make this possible. The Central Committee secretary stressed the necessity of transferring scientific-technical progress into production as a condition for overcoming the country's economic backwardness.

The conference selected 15 delegates to the city conference in Plock, 8 to the provincial conference, and one to the 10th PZPR Congress. He was worker Zenon Slowikowski, a machine operator in the Phenol Department.

Other pre-congress PZPR congresses that took place on 5 April included the ones at Inowroclaw, with Jozef Baryla participating, at the Soda Works in Janikow (the Bydgoszcz province) with Henryk Bednarski, at the Elana Chemical Fiber Works in Torun, with Stanislaw Kalkus, and at the B. Bierut Steelworks in Czestochowa, with Jerzy Romanik.

Jelcz Auto Factory

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Czeslaw Kubasik: "Jelcz: Working More Effectively -- Living Better"]

[Excerpts] "We must eradicate conservative attitudes. We cannot put up with those who want to work in accordance with the principle of 'What will be will be,' who are not efficient and effective, who try to justify the lack of results with so-called objective difficulties, and do not understand the spirit of the renewal carried out by our party. They are the ones who are satisfied with whatever the results of their work are, but at the same time expect everything from the authorities, to the extent of their own needs," stated Jan Dalgiewicz, the first of the speakers, a delegate to the PZPR Plant Conference and the director of the Jelcz Automobile Factories.

This same opinion could be treated as a motto for the rest of the speeches at the conference, which was characterized by a concrete approach and above all by a creative, critical look at the path followed by the party since the 9th Congress and concern for the future of the country, the automobile industry, and the factory.

"The party's energetic activity at the plant is increasing its prestige. The proof is that in the last two years 55 candidates have been accepted and currently the organization at the plant has 708 members. In all of the POPs there are precandidate groups, which are composed of model workers, usually young ones, who will strengthen the ranks of the party in the future. We are being very careful in the selection, so that we do not let people at random, or careerists, into the party," a speaker stated.

At the conference, Jan Dalgiewicz, the director of the factory and a member of the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Wroclaw, was elected as the delegate to the 10th Congress of the party. Four delegates to the provincial committee were also elected.

The guests invited to the meeting included, among others, Minister Konrad Tott, the head of the Office of Scientific-Technical Progress, Ryszard Czerwinski, the deputy chief of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, and Provincial Committee secretary Bogdan Kieszcowski.

Baildon Steelworks

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by Stanislaw Zielinski: "Baildon Steelworks: Matters to Consider"]

[Excerpts] When the party organization at the Baildon Steelworks in Katowice discussed the draft party Program and the Theses for the 10th Congress, and when the conclusions from the individual talks were summed up, no one had any illusions any longer. The party is faced with a new task -- it must direct the work of the entire work force in such a way that better work results pay off through a higher standard of living. Consequently, it was not by chance that the pre-congress conference at the Baildon party organization was almost completely subordinated to this very issue.

"Why," asked first secretary of the Plant Committee Jerzy Palachiewicz, "is it that we are able to articulate our demands, proposals, and desires loudly and clearly when those addressed are far away or high up, but we are still not too courageous about deciding on sensitive issues in our own backyard? Do we lack the courage to offend our comrades at work and our colleagues?"

It was said during the discussion that it is a fact that the beginnings of the 1980's unsettled the consciousness of many people, and that the party is still not reaching everyone with its arguments. It is necessary to make such attempts, however, especially among young people.

In the new situation, Adam Mateja said, it is necessary to seek new methods and forms of ideological-educational work. We will not win young people over unless we first interest them in the party's Program, and later persuade them of it.

In a secret vote, the Baildon party organization entrusted its mandate to Jozef Gwozdz, a member of the PZPR Central Committee and a foreman for many years in the W-41 rolling shop.

Cotton Mills in Lodz

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jan A. Kraszewski: "What We Decide Together Will Have to Be Carried Out"]

[Excerpts] The campaign preceding the 10th Congress is under way in the party. Conferences and meetings, at which the party's draft Program and the congress's Theses are discussed, are being held at work institutions. A great deal of space is also being given to economic problems and issues related to the enterprises and their work forces. Delegates have also been elected for a conference at a higher level and also directly for the 10th Congress of the party.

J. Marchewski Cotton Mills in Lodz

The proceedings of this conference, which was held on 7 April, took place in two parts. In the first one, Antoni Ruszkiewicz, the first secretary of the Plant Committee, presented a report from the executive board on activities during the past term, and the organizational secretary, Stanislaw Chlapinski, analyzed the plant organization through an assessment of the activity of party groups, OOPs and POPs, and individual party members in self-management, trade unions, and social organizations.

The 107 delegates, representing 773 members and candidates, were also informed about the economic-financial situation of this cotton combine, which employs nearly 4.5 thousand workers.

The second part began with a speech by Henryk Garus, who spoke less optimistically and candidly about this factory's problems. "We fulfilled the plan, but we are not talking about the fact that it is a great deal lower than what we accomplished in 1981."

The issue of modernization was brought up again many times during the discussion.

"On the other hand," Comrade Jarkowski emphasized, "not everything has been done yet to improve labor discipline, economize, and increase quality. I think that the reasons include insufficient work by the direct supervisors and the managers, since even though the incentive wage system that was instituted has brought a marked improvement in productivity, the system itself is not enough, however, to organize one's own work and that of others better in order to make full use of working hours."

The delegates cited the party's draft Program and the Theses for the party's 10th Congress many times. They voiced many comments of their own, and also the ones with which they had been "equipped" by the electors. In this manner they tried to seek connections between the formulations in the program, which are general by the nature of things, and the theses, which are closer to real life, attempting in this way to answer the question of what the future of the country, the city, and the plant would be like, as well as their own. It was agreed that man is primarily responsible for progress in public and economic life.

Jan Glowczyk, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took the floor during the final part of the conference, and emphasized that the program of the 9th Congress, which we can describe most briefly as a program of understanding, struggle, reform, and socialist renewal, has a fundamental and still relevant significance, in spite of the multitude of difficulties remaining to be resolved. We are guided on this path by the teachings of Lenin and the Leninist principles for the functioning of the party, based on the leading role of the working class.

Next, J. Glowczyk, referring to the voices in the discussion raising such an important issue as world security and living in peace, presented the results of a public opinion survey conducted among Poland's adult population. Of those polled, 96 percent favored supporting the peace initiatives of Mikhail Gorbachev. In response to a question about which power is showing the most

good will in the struggle for peace, 62 percent indicated the USSR, and only 3 percent the United States. This representative survey, the speaker stated, shows the magnitude of the support from a decided majority of Polish society for the Soviet Union's peace offensive.

The conference elected the reeler Maria Gabrych as the delegate to the 10th Congress, in addition to four delegates to the provincial party conference and 11 to the district one.

Polish Ocean Lines

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zb. Wrobel: "Polish Ocean Lines"]

[Excerpts] The plant party organization at Polish Ocean Lines is a significant force in the enterprise, gathering in its ranks 3,000 PZPR members and candidates.

This means that every third worker at the Gdynia shipping firm is a member of the party, and in terms of size, the plant organization is the largest in the Gdansk province, according to the participants in the preconference plant conference at Polish Ocean Lines, which was held on 7 April in Gdynia. Most of the 171 delegates were sailors, representing all fields in the maritime professions.

The participants in the meeting included Stanislaw Bejger, deputy member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the party's Provincial Committee in Gdansk, to whom the members of the OOP of the PLO work force reserve entrusted the mandate of delegate to the plant conference, Deputy Premier Wladyslaw Gwiazda, and Minister Adam Nowotnik, the head of the Office of Maritime Economy.

Two themes dominated the discussion during the conference of the Gdynia sailors -- problems related to party activities, and economic issues. The need to expand party ranks was pointed out, as was the obligation to keep the public at large continually informed about the PZPR's activities.

The participants in the discussion gave a critical assessment of the adoption of an excessive number of party resolutions, and the lack of consistency in carrying them out.

Among the 15 delegates elected to the provincial conference, Stanislaw Bejger received a mandate. Also elected were 35 delegates to the PZPR city conference in Gdynia.

Also held on 7 April were preconference PZPR congresses with the participation of: Stanislaw Kalkus at the Runotex (runowy) Products Factory in Kalisz; Albin Siwak at the Slask Mine in Ruda Slaska; Marian Wozniak at the Gliwice Mine; Henryk Bednarski at the city party conference in Chojnice (the Bydgoszcz province); and Zbigniew Michalek at the district preconference conference in Lukowo.

POLITICS

ROMANIA

'CREATIVE SPIRIT' OF PARTY, CEAUSESCU STRESSED

Bucharest EKA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 10 Mar 86 pp 1-5

[Unattributed article: "The Party, the Guiding Political Force for the People Along the Path of Socialism and Communism"]

[Text] In May of this year, 65 years will have passed since the creation of the Romanian Communist Party, which, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, constituted an "event of epochal significance in the working-class movement in Romania, in the revolutionary class struggles for social justice and national liberation, for the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of the new order in our homeland."

The working people throughout the homeland are greeting this great anniversary under the sign of the close unity of the whole populace around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, continually increasing their patriotic, revolutionary involvement in work in order to secure the implementation of the splendid objectives set by the 13th congress, of the party's Program for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism.

Discussing the Plan of Measures for the 65th Anniversary of the Creation of the Romanian Communist Party, the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee stressed that "the glorious jubilee must constitute for our whole party an opportunity to intensify the political and ideological work for educating and developing the socialist consciousness of the whole populace, for widely mobilizing the nation's creative energies in the work and struggle to exemplarily fulfill the plans for economic and social development of the country, the historic decisions adopted by the 13th congress, the Program for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism. The entire preparation for and performance of the actions and events connected with the celebration of this important occasion in the country's political and social life will have to lead to the even greater strengthening of the party, to the growth of its leading role in all sectors of economic and social life, in the organization and management of the vast work of building the new social order."

An Event of Epochal Significance in the Unique Process of Development of the Romanian People

A faithful exponent of the supreme interests of the whole nation, the Romanian Communist Party is the heir and successor to the most glorious traditions of struggle of the working class, of the broad popular masses, drawing its vigor and vitality from the millennial history of our people. The creation of the Communist Party on 8 May 1921, on the basis of the theory of scientific socialism, inscribed a glorious page in Romania's history and marked a new, higher stage in the revolutionary movement, in the organization of the struggle of the working class, of the popular masses in our country. Noting the special importance of the creation of the Romanian Communist Party, which assumed its historical mission of guiding the working class and the whole populace along the path of revolutionary transformations, of the elimination of social and national oppression, of the forging of socialism and communism, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu indicated the close correlation, the organic connection between this historic event and the unique, lawlike, dialectical process of development and affirmation of our people. Referring to some of the important moments of this vast revolutionary process of heroic struggles for freedom and independence, for economic and social progress, the party's secretary general stressed that all these things "attest, with the power of the facts, that the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary, socialist and communist movement have their origin in the development of the production forces, in the whole unique revolutionary process of multilateral progress of our people."

Indeed, the history of the Romanian people attests to the close interdependence between the struggles for freedom and independence and those against social and national oppression, for the revolutionary transformation of society, for the economic and social progress of the homeland. In their long existence, our people have had to face great obstacles and dangers, vicissitudes of all kinds, yet they never abandoned their ancestral abode, but stood fast in this area, defending their being, their right to a free existence.

An integral, indissoluble part of the Romanian people, the working class and the working-class and socialist movement have affirmed to the full their active presence in all the great moments of our modern and contemporary history. As a matter of fact, the historical process of formation and affirmation of the workers in Romanian society coincided with the era of great national events: the great popular peasant uprising in 1784, the revolution in 1821 and that in 1848, the Union of 1859, and the proclamation of state independence in 1877--events that marked out the path of profound economic, social, political, and cultural transformations.

The working-class movement in Romania embraced early the ideas of scientific socialism, the dialectical-materialist view on the world and life. The creation of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Romania in 1893, on the basis of this revolutionary view, began the era of the political organization of the working class on a national scale and strongly affirmed the role of the working class as our society's most advanced social force along the path of progress and civilization. Anchored in the social and political realities of modern Romania, the party of the working class indissolubly linked the struggle

for national and state unity with the struggle for social liberation, for the revolutionary transformation of society.

The creation of the united Romanian national state on 1 December 1918, through the union of Transylvania with Romania, crowned our people's centuries-old struggle for national freedom, unity and independence, giving a new and brilliant expression to their unwavering will to gain their incontestable legitimate rights.

Under these circumstances, the Congress of the Socialist Party on 8-12 May 1921 decided to turn it into the Romanian Communist Party. This represented a historic moment of particular importance, marking the victory of the revolutionary view, of scientific socialism in the working-class movement in Romania, and gave expression to the continuity of the struggle of the proletariat, of the broad popular masses in our country for social justice and national freedom, for the homeland's multilateral progress, for socialism and communism, and, at the same time, to its rise to qualitatively new levels.

The Romanian Communist Party played a more and more important role in the whole social and political life of the country and asserted itself strongly--at crucial moments for the destiny of the homeland--as a national political force, assuming its historical role of organizer and leader of the struggle for the defense of the basic interests of those who work, of democratic rights and liberties, for national independence and sovereignty, for the revolutionary transformation of society, for social progress. Although outlawed and subjected to a brutal reign of terror, the Communist Party stood resolutely at the head of the struggle against fascism, for the defense of the territorial independence and integrity of the homeland, menaced more and more seriously by the ascension and aggressiveness of Hitler's Germany and of the revisionist fascist states. In the years preceding the war, the Romanian Communist Party, voicing the determination of the country's advanced, patriotic forces and the will of the whole populace, organized and led great actions of struggle and antifascist, antiwar, and antirevisionist demonstrations and mobilized on a common platform of struggle the popular masses, broad democratic, progressive political forces hostile to fascism.

The actions led by the Romanian Communist Party culminated in the great antifascist and antiwar demonstration on 1 May 1939, in the organization of which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu had a decisive role; Comrade Elena Ceausescu (Petrescu), representing the capital's youth organization, participated in organizing this demonstration. Taking place less than 2 months after the entry of Hitler's Germany into Czechoslovakia, the great antifascist demonstration in 1939 was, after many years, as the party's secretary general stressed, "the first great demonstration organized on the basis of the united front, together, by the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party and other democratic and revolutionary forces." It brought out the unity and force of our working class and its desire for peace and showed that the workers, the people did not have to bow down to fascism, that, acting as a unit, they could block the path of fascism and war.

In the hard years of the war, the Romanian people's antifascist and anti-Nazi struggle took on the character of a true movement of national resistance, in which the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, circles of the bourgeoisie and of the palace, military personnel, etc. participated. The Romanian Communist Party performed a vast and multilateral activity to unite into a national front of struggle all the patriotic, democratic, antifascist, and anti-Nazi forces of the country and to extricate Romania from the fascist war. The creation of the Anti-Nazi Patriotic Front, the forging of the United Workers Front, and then the formation of the National Democratic Bloc constituted a convincing expression in this regard.

The victory of the armed insurrection in August 1944, organized and led by the Romanian Communist Party, in alliance with other political forces and the Army, and the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship led to Romania's extrication from the war started by Nazi Germany and to our country's entry into the antifascist war, alongside the Soviet Union and the other countries of the anti-Nazi coalition. The victorious course of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation demonstrated the Romanian Communist Party's capacity to creatively apply revolutionary theory to the conditions specific to our country, to unite the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all the national forces, for the defense of the interests of the whole populace, for the homeland's freedom and independence.

After the homeland's liberation, the Communist Party secured the participation of the Romanian people, with their entire Army, with their entire material and human potential, alongside the Soviet Army, in the great battles against fascism, in the liberation of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Austria, up to the final victory over Nazi Germany on 9 May 1945. Romania's entry into the anti-Nazi war constituted a particularly important event in the victorious course of the struggle to defeat fascism, leading to the collapse of the entire Nazi front in the Balkans and to the shortening of the war by 6 months. Romania's active contribution to the war against Hitler's Germany, the hard battles fought by the Romanian soldiers, and the huge sacrifices made by the whole populace to obtain the victory demonstrated strongly the Romanian people's determination to fight for the defeat of fascism and for the elimination of the imperialist policy of domination and oppression, for democracy, for the cause of the people's independence and freedom, of understanding and collaboration throughout the world.

The Victory of Socialism--a Historic Gain of the People

The victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation marked the start of a new era in our homeland's development along the path of independence, democracy, and progress. Pointing out the basic significance of the victorious revolution in August 1944 in the history of the people, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that "this act of crucial historical importance for Romania paved the way not only for our homeland's definitive liberation from the yoke of foreign domination and for the social liberation of the masses but also for a new era, that of forging the most advanced order--the socialist order--in which the people are fully the masters of their destiny and move steadily ahead toward communism."

In the course of the hard social, class battles that followed, the leading role of the working class was affirmed more and more vigorously and the worker-peasant alliance was formed. Using to the full the experience gained in the struggle to forge a broad coalition of patriotic and antifascist political forces, the Communist Party continually consolidated the unity between the Communists and the Socialists and the collaboration with other democratic forces and parties. This provided for the accomplishment of profound social reforms, the abolition of the monarchy, and the establishment of the republic on 30 December 1947, a highly significant event that marked the gaining of all political power by the working class, in alliance with the peasantry and the other categories of working people, and the transition to the stage of socialist revolution and construction.

The forging of the sole revolutionary party of the working class in February 1948, which was dictated as an objective necessity for the development of the revolutionary process, for the work of building the new order, was particularly important in this regard. At the same time, the nationalization of the main means of production in June 1948 and the transition to the cooperativization of agriculture in 1949 constituted highly significant moments in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of Romanian society, for the building of the new social order.

Through an intense activity devoted to mobilizing and uniting the whole populace's creative forces, the party secured the resolution--in each stage--of the many problems of building and perfecting the socialist order and organized and led the complex work of developing the technical-material base of socialism, of creating socialist production relations, and of raising the material and cultural standard of living of those who work. The industrialization of the country, as a basis for the development of agriculture and the national economy's other branches, was put in the center of the economic policy.

The successes obtained in attaining the objectives provided in the 5-year plans in the 1951-1965 period led to the creation of the economic and technical-material base of socialism in our country. With the conclusion of the cooperativization of agriculture, the generalization of socialist production relations was secured and the unitary socialist economy was created.

The total victory of socialism, the establishment of socialist ownership of the means of production, and the affirmation of socialist production and social relations had as a result the abolition of the exploiting classes, of exploitation and oppression, the achievement of the political unity of all the social classes and categories, and the creation of the conditions for the full manifestation of the creative energies and forces of the whole nation. "The conclusion of the stage of forging socialist production relations in all sectors of the national economy," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "led to the permanent elimination of capitalist ownership, of the exploitation of man by man. Socialist ownership of the means of production, the new production and social relations, and the distribution of social and national product on the basis of socialist principles became the foundation for Romania's economic and social development."

The Strong Affirmation of the Creative, Innovative Spirit in Revolutionary Theory and Practice

The ninth party congress, which marked a new era in the country's economic and social development, occupies a place of exceptional significance in the process of socialist construction. In the period that has followed this historic congress, a period indissolubly connected with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's innovative theoretical activity and revolutionary practical action, our whole society has experienced remarkable progress, unprecedented development. This is precisely why our people, with justified patriotic pride, dignity, and gratitude, call the period of the great revolutionary changes accomplished after the ninth congress the Nicolae Ceausescu Era.

The bold, original thought of the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, springing from a deep understanding of the essence of dialectical and historical materialism, and his abundant political and organizational experience, accumulated in the course of extensive revolutionary activity, put their decisive imprint on the strategy, the general political line of the party, causing the strong affirmation of the creative, innovative spirit in the life of our whole society, the rise of the process of revolutionary transformation of the homeland to a higher level. This provided for the transition to a new stage of development of our homeland--that of the consolidation of the people's revolutionary gains, the rapid development of the production forces, the continual improvement of the organization and management of society, of social relations, of all fields of activity, and the creation of the conditions for the transition to forging the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania.

A bold promoter of the new, of theoretical and practical openings, an implacable foe of any dogma, creatively applying the general truths of dialectical and historical materialism to the concrete realities of our country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has made and is making a brilliant contribution to synthesizing the experience of socialist construction in Romania, to enriching contemporary revolutionary thought. The party's secretary general has devised original, scientifically substantiated theses, ideas, and solutions for the problems of Romania's economic and social development, of the contemporary world, such as: the clarification of the stages of economic and social development of Romania and the characterization of the multilaterally developed socialist society and of the general principles of the advance toward communism; the distinguishing of the continuity of the revolutionary process and of the new forms of exercise of the party's leading role through its organic integration into the life of society; the noting of the essence and role of our socialist state; the thorough study of the nation's problems and of its growing role under the conditions of the contemporary era; the analysis of the nature of the contradictions under socialism and of the ways to resolve them and of the problems of working-class, revolutionary democracy; the noting of the active function of the socialist consciousness and of the principles of socialist ethics and equity; the objective analysis of the relationship between the general and the particular, the national and the international in social development, of the basic trends in international life, and of the contradictions of the contemporary world; the distinguishing of the ways to solve the

problems that confront the peoples today, especially the safeguarding of peace; the substantiation of the need for a new international economic and political order; and so on.

In the years of socialism, especially in the period that has elapsed since the ninth congress, socialist Romania has made great and important progress in the strong development of the production forces, in the consistent implementation of industrialization, and in the development of the other economic branches, which has provided the conditions needed for a higher degree of civilization in the whole society, for the strengthening of the homeland's material and spiritual force, of national independence and sovereignty.

In a short historical period, Romania has gone through several stages of economic and social development--from the bourgeois-landlord order to the multilaterally developed socialist society and has been changed from a poorly developed country into an industrial-agrarian country, with strong, modern industry, with socialist agriculture in full swing, with flourishing science, culture, and education.

In the last 20 years, our party has exhibited constant concern for improving the production and social relations, the organization and management of society. On the initiative and under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, a widely democratic, original organizational framework--unique of its kind--which provides for the active, direct participation of all the working people in the management of society, the full exercise of the people's prerogatives as true rulers of the country, as conscious makers of their own destiny, has been created. Democratic bodies and organizations have been created in all the basic economic and social units and at a national level, there being placed in the center of this broad democratic system the principles of worker self-management and self-administration, which offer the working people the possibility of having their say and participating directly in discussing and making the decisions, in managing all sectors of activity. As a result, we now have in Romania a democracy of a new type, superior from all viewpoints to bourgeois democracy.

The resolution of the national problem, in the spirit of the principles of socialism, the providing of full equality in rights to all the working people, regardless of nationality, and the active affirmation of all citizens of the homeland in political, social, and cultural life constitute a historic accomplishment of the Romanian Communist Party. The unity of will and action and the moral and political cohesion of the whole populace around the Romanian Communist Party constitute an immense driving force in speeding up the multilateral progress of the homeland.

The 1981-1985 5-year period marked a new stage along the path of implementing the party's Program for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Toward Communism. In those years--despite the difficulties caused by the world economic crisis and by some contradictions, lags, and shortcomings in various sectors of activity--industry, agriculture, and the other branches of the national economy continued to be developed and national income and the country's wealth increased. The entire activity was oriented

toward expanding our own base of raw materials and energy resources, modernizing agriculture, and accenting the qualitative factors in the intensive development of the economy--the growth of labor productivity and of the technical level of products, the better utilization and the reduction of the consumption of raw materials, supplies, fuel, and energy, the reduction of production costs and expenses, and the general growth of economic efficiency. Scientific and technological research made a significant contribution to promoting more and more widely in all economic and social life the gains of the scientific and technical revolution. The continual growth of the material and spiritual well-being of the whole populace was secured on the basis of the development of the production forces and the growth of national income.

The great accomplishments obtained by the Romanian people in forging the new order are the result of the creative application of objective laws and truths to the concrete conditions in our country, indicating brilliantly the fact that our party--the guiding political force for the nation--is creditably fulfilling its historical mission of guiding the people toward the highest peaks of progress and civilization, toward the communist society. These accomplishments are the result of the sacrifice-filled work of our heroic working class, society's ruling class, the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia, the whole populace, which, in full unity, under the leadership of the party and its secretary general, are forging for themselves a free, independent, and prosperous life. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, all these things demonstrate that "the backwardness that existed at one time in the development of Romanian society was left behind long ago, that the Romanian people are in the ranks of the advanced nations as regards the development of social orders, of production forces, of science and culture in general."

The Strategy for the Multilateral Development of Romanian Society

We are celebrating the 65th anniversary of the creation of the Romanian Communist Party at the start of the 8th 5-year plan for economic and social development of the country, which marks the transition to the 3d stage of implementing the party's program. This new, higher stage must provide for Romania's transition by 1990 from the stage of a developing socialist country to a higher stage--that of a socialist country with average development.

The 13th party congress--outlining the directions of economic and social development of Romania in the 1986-1990 5-year period and, in prospect, up to the year 2000--set as a basic objective the steady continuation of the policy of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing our homeland toward communism. In order to attain this objective, special attention will be devoted to developing the production forces--the decisive factor in general progress--and to improving the social and production relations on a new basis, continuing the process of revolutionary transformation of society.

The orientations and tasks established for the 1986-1990 5-year period pursue in particular the attainment of intensive economic development through the further modernization of the production structures, the raising of the technical and qualitative level of products, the more marked growth of labor productivity, the better utilization of raw materials, fuel, and energy, and the

growth of economic efficiency in all branches of the national economy. A special accent will be put on the expansion of the base of raw materials and energy, the providing of an optimum ratio between industry and agriculture, and the balanced development of all branches of the national economy, of all countries--a principal condition for the continual and multilateral progress of the whole country. At the same time, the implementation of the new agrarian revolution, which presupposes the general transformation of the peasantry's way of working, living, and thinking, is of particular importance.

In the current period, the role of scientific research, of the rapid and steady introduction of the new gains of science and technology into production, is growing more and more. According to the provisions of the Program for Scientific Research, Technological Development, and Introduction of Technical Progress for the 1986-1990 Period--drawn up under the direct guidance of Comrade Academician Dr Eng Elena Ceausescu--the research activity will have to make a decisive contribution to the implementation of the new scientific and technical revolution in all fields, to the economic and social development of the homeland on the basis of the newest attainments of modern science and technology. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in the speech at the Congress of Science and Education, "We must be fully aware that slowness--in the field of developing the production forces on the basis of the newest gains of science and technology--can strongly affect the future of our people, the very independence and sovereignty of our homeland."

According to the new requirements for economic and social development, in the 1986-1990 5-year period and, in prospect, up to the year 2000, the material base of education and culture will be expanded and modernized and the activity of training the work force, the young people, and the staffs will be improved continually. The raising of the whole population's general level of education and knowledge, of training, represents a decisive factor in the multilateral affirmation of the human personality, in the country's general development.

Of course, the allocation of a high rate of accumulation for carrying out expanded reproduction at a rapid rate, for securing the fulfillment of the current and future needs of the whole society to a growing degree, constitutes the key to the country's economic and social progress. Stressing that our party and state have proceeded correctly by allocating about two-thirds of national income for the consumption fund and over 30 percent for the development fund, the party's secretary general stated: "Without this high rate of accumulation and development, we would have lagged behind in the development of the production forces, with big repercussions on the general standard of living of the people, on socialist construction, on the independence and sovereignty of the homeland."

In the process of building the new order, the party and its secretary general are devoting special attention to the continual consolidation, development, and improvement of socialist, state, and cooperative ownership, as the only basis for socialism and communism, the stable foundation for growth in national wealth, for growth in the material and spiritual well-being of the people. The steady implementation of the new economic and financial mechanism, of self-administration and self-management--an expression of working-class,

revolutionary democracy--takes on an essential significance in the current stage of economic and social development of our homeland. The recent measures to improve the economic and financial mechanism are meant to secure the stronger growth of the responsibility of the management personnel, the councils of the working people, and the general assemblies of the working people in their capacity of owners, producers, and beneficiaries, of masters of all national wealth, of true creators of Romania's communist future.

The Vital Center of the Whole Nation

The increased complexity of the objectives outlined by the 13th congress and the content of the stage through which our country is passing in building the new order make evident the requirement of the stronger and stronger affirmation of the party's leading role on a qualitatively higher level. A faithful exponent of the aspirations of our socialist nation, of the whole populace, the Romanian Communist Party is manifesting itself more and more strongly as a true mass party, organically integrated into the life of society, the force that inspires and animates the work of revolutionary transformation of society. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "In the current stage of development of the Romanian socialist society, under the conditions of the development of socialist democracy, of the improvement of the democratic framework for participation by the popular masses in the management of all sectors, the high mission of being the organizing and galvanizing political force for all economic and social activity goes to our party. It represents and will represent further the vital center of the functioning of our socialist society."

The thesis regarding the party's role as a vital center of society dictates, in essence, that its functions as a guiding force be exercised within society, within its institutions, and requires the continual stimulation of the energies and initiative of the masses, the deepening of working-class, revolutionary democracy. In this view, the party exercises its leading role, above all, through the scientific formulation of the ways to develop the country, of the general political line that orients the activity in all fields, through intense and multilateral organizational and educational work, through the advanced position and the example of each Communist in professional activity, in all social and political life. In this regard, the party is consistently concerned that its entire policy be the emanation of the will and interests of the working class, of the whole populace, through whose creative efforts and revolutionary spirit the work of socialist construction is accomplished. As, in particular, the experience accumulated after the ninth congress shows, the party's activity is performed in an indissoluble connection with the masses, with all the working people, through the lively and continual dialogue with the people and through the direct participation of the party actives, of all Communists within the economic and social units, the party organizations, and the mass and public organizations, in the vast process of devising and carrying out the policy, the tasks in one field or another.

The thesis devised by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the party's more and more organic integration into the life of society is particularly important in this regard. This is a requirement springing from the realities specific to the current stage of development of our society, since in precisely this way

the party is in a position to include all sectors of social life in the sphere of its leadership and increases its capacity to organize and mobilize the masses. One intrinsic component of the view regarding the organic integration of the party into social life is the particularly significant orientation, substantiated by the 13th congress, regarding the necessity of improving the organization and management of party activity, of improving the style and methods of work. In this regard, the documents of the congress emphasize the requirement that the party and its bodies and organizations constantly be guided by the dialectical-materialist view, always act in a revolutionary spirit, to promote the new, to eliminate everything that is old and outmoded. "Let us do everything," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "so that, always, our party remains a revolutionary party, stimulates all development, maintains the revolutionary, patriotic, fighting spirit of our people!"

Starting from the principle that the building of the new order is the result of the conscious activity of the masses, of the whole populace, our party exhibits constant concern for forming the socialist consciousness, the new man, advanced social and moral values, the patriotic consciousness, the revolutionary spirit. This concern found a brilliant embodiment in the party's ideological program, drawn up by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 and adopted by the 13th congress as an integral part of the Program for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism.

In the light of the ideological program and the documents of the 13th party congress, the requirement of carrying out constant activity to secure the stronger and stronger affirmation of the militant, revolutionary spirit in the entire work of forming the new man, educated in the spirit of devotion to work, of high socialist patriotism, of intransigence toward any shortcomings, toward any manifestations that contravene the principles of socialist ethics and equity, takes on a growing importance in the current stage. At the same time, it is necessary to consistently cultivate further the spirit of friendship and cooperation in the common work and struggle for the new social order and of international solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries, of all countries of the world. At the same time, the greater requirements that stand before the political and educational activity dictate the growth of the revolutionary militancy toward reactionary mentalities, toward the remnants of the old ideology in the people's consciousness, toward the influence of imperialist, reactionary propaganda, and for the steady promotion of socialism's noble ideals in life.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses, the political and ideological activity, the press, radio and television, and the other mass media must strongly emphasize the Romanian people's splendid revolutionary gains, the special successes obtained in the steady, multilateral development of the new society, and our party's concerns for solving the inherent problems of a magnificent work such as the building of socialism and communism. The experience of building the new order offers convincing arguments to demonstrate the socialist society's incontestable superiority over any other society, the bright prospects that it is opening up for the progress of human society, for the prosperity of all peoples.

An Active Detachment of the Forces of Socialism, Progress and Peace

In its entire activity devoted to the fulfillment of our people's basic aspirations of social and national freedom, to the triumph of the general cause of socialism, progress and peace, the Romanian Communist Party starts steadily from the dialectical unity between national tasks and international tasks, between domestic policy and foreign policy. In its 65 years of existence, especially in the period after the ninth congress, our party has asserted itself in international life as an active factor in the struggle for the independence and freedom of the peoples, for peace and social progress, for socialism and communism. The constant, multilateral activity of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a leading personality of international life, has been and is oriented consistently toward strongly affirming each people's inalienable right to choose and establish freely the path of its development, to determine its destiny by itself.

In this spirit, Romania's relations with all the socialist countries, and especially with the neighboring countries, are experiencing extensive development, its relations with the developing and nonaligned countries are being strengthened, and its ties with the developed capitalist countries, with all states, regardless of their social order, are being expanded. Our party and state constantly place at the foundation of all these foreign relations of socialist Romania, of all its international activity, the principles of full equality in rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, and abstention from force and from the threat of force.

The evolution of international life completely confirms the correctness of our party's policy, of the orientations established by the 13th congress, and the realism of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's conclusions regarding the cardinal problems of the contemporary world. The course of the events in the recent period makes evident, more than ever, the serious dangers that the intensification of the arms race and the manifestation of the imperialist policy of force and of the threat of force, of redivision of the world into spheres of influence, and of interference in the internal affairs of other states represent for the peace and security of the whole world. This causes the danger of a new world war to increase, which would become, inevitably, a nuclear disaster, which would lead to the disappearance of the very conditions for the existence of life on our planet. "This is why," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in the speech at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "we feel that the defense of peace, the stopping of the arms race, and the transition to concrete measures of disarmament, to eliminate nuclear weapons, constitute the basic problem of today's world. Everything must be done to defend the sacred right of the peoples, of mankind, to existence, to a free and dignified life, to peace!"

Our party and the Romanian people hail and support fully the initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union in the direction of reducing nuclear weapons by 50 percent, of ceasing nuclear tests, and of stopping the militarization of outer space, and rate highly the program proposed by the Soviet Union regarding the elimination of the entire arsenal of nuclear weapons by the end of

this century. At the same time, our country, like the other peoples of the world, is waiting for the United States and its NATO allies to adopt a realistic attitude and to proceed--on the basis of the proposals presented by both sides--to achieve suitable agreements for eliminating the danger of a nuclear war and stopping the militarization of outer space. Our country feels that the achievement of a balance between the two sides from a military viewpoint must be accomplished not by increasing the military arsenals but by reducing armaments to the lowest level. At the same time, Romania is speaking out and militating steadily for the creation of a nuclear-free zone without chemical weapons in the Balkans and supports the achievement of such zones in northern and central Europe as well as in other areas of the world.

Nowadays, more than ever, it is necessary to intensify the struggle to eliminate underdevelopment--including to eliminate the extremely high foreign debts of the developing countries by canceling or radically reducing them--and to establish a new international economic order. It is necessary to understand--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu says--that the resolution of the problems of the developing countries and the achievement of a new world economic order constitute an essential factor for the handling of the economic crisis, for the stability and harmonious development of the world economy.

Socialist Romania and our country's president are constantly militating for the democratization of international relations, for a policy of dialogue, of resolving through negotiations any conflicts and disputes between states, any problems of international life, as the only rational alternative to the policy of confrontation and tension, of arming and war.

In the vast process of affirming and establishing new relations, ones of justice and equity, and of forging a better and fairer world, our party and its secretary general attach a special significance to strengthening the militant solidarity and collaboration with the revolutionary, progressive forces everywhere. This trait, characteristic of the the Romanian Communist Party's thought and action, continues and raises to a higher level the best traditions of international solidarity of the working-class and revolutionary movement in Romania, of the 65 years of heroic and unflagging activity by the party.

Since its appearance in the arena of political life, the working-class movement in Romania has manifested itself and acted as a component part of the international working-class movement. The advanced, revolutionary, and antifascist forces in our country have continually strengthened their solidarity with the revolutionary, progressive forces everywhere in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world, against imperialism and war, for freedom and independence, for collaboration and peace. At the same time, in various important moments of their struggle for social and national liberation, the revolutionary forces and our people have received wide support from the advanced forces, from the revolutionary movements in other countries. All these things, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, demonstrate that "there has always been a close interdependence between the internal revolutionary struggles and those in other countries, between the revolutionary, progressive movements everywhere."

In the spirit of its rich traditions of international solidarity, the Romanian Communist Party is making its active contribution to strengthening the collaboration among all the revolutionary, democratic, progressive, anti-imperialist forces everywhere. Our party is strengthening its collaboration and solidarity with the communist and workers parties on the basis of full equality, of respect for each party's independence and its right to independently determine its political line and revolutionary strategy in accordance with the concrete conditions in its country, and of noninterference in the internal affairs of other parties. "Starting from the necessity of respecting these principles," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "we must do everything to achieve a new unity in the struggle for social progress, for international peace and collaboration. The unity of the communists is a necessity in the struggle for the victory of peace!"

At the same time, our party is developing its relations with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with the progressive and democratic parties in various countries, with all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, with the peoples everywhere, starting from the firm conviction that it lies within their power, acting as a unit, to determine a new course of international life, to secure peace, the people's supreme right of to freedom, to independence, to life.

For 65 years, the Romanian Communist Party has fulfilled the role of an inexhaustible generator of energy, of an immense driving force for our people's progress and development. Consequently, its glorious jubilee has a strong political and ideological significance, mobilizing the creative energies of the masses, causing the even stronger involvement of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, of all the working people, regardless of nationality, in successfully attaining the splendid objectives set by the 13th congress, by the party's program, in order to raise Romania to new levels of progress and civilization, to achieve on our homeland's soil mankind's golden dream--the socialist and communist society.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

DALMATIAN COMMUNISTS OBLIGED TO REVEAL FINANCIAL STATUS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Suad Ahmetovic, Miroslav Ivic, and Davorka Mezic-Jugovic: "How Much Property Can Communists Have?"]

[Text] It has begun in Dalmatia, and it will probably spread to other areas quickly; in their organizations, members of the League of Communists are obliged to reveal their financial status and the sources of their property. Thus, it will be ascertained who has used impermissible means to amass wealth and thus damaged the prestige of the League of Communists.

Dalmatian communists have initiated a determined action to reveal, in their ranks, the exponents of all negative phenomena and actions that pose a serious threat to social property and the constitutionality and lawfulness of the system by debasing the norms of socialist morality.

At the meetings of the basic party organizations that are being held throughout Dalmatia these days, every member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is obliged to openly and completely honestly present to the other communists information on his property and financial situation, and to explain how he obtained the property. This information will constitute the basis for differentiation among communists, and in some cases of illegal wealth ideological and political measures will be taken to remove from party ranks those whose conduct compromises the prestige of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In connection with this exceptionally important party action, those who are not informed well enough could wonder why it is being conducted only in Dalmatia when it is known that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a unified organization.

The obligation to deal in a resolute manner with those who have gained wealth without working, by defrauding social property, breaking the law, embezzling, taking bribes, engaging in corruption, appropriating public property and similar means, has been made incumbent upon all Yugoslav communists by the decisions from the 16th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. These decisions were based on the view that many

negative phenomena and ways of conduct, which have been visibly present in all of our society for quite a long time, are posing a serious threat to the financial foundation of socialist self-management and to the development of self-managing social relations, by contributing to a class and social stratification among working people and citizens and jeopardizing the implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

What Do the Analyses Say?

Such trends are having an unfavorable influence on ideological-political awareness, facilitate the spread of petty bourgeois mentality, and objectively facilitate the activities of hostile forces. It is a fact that none of this has spared even the League of Communists. It is true that certain professional research projects and analyses have revealed that, among communists, such phenomena are incomparably less pronounced than among the broadest social strata. This, however, certainly cannot provide a justification or consolidation, since illegal wealth is totally incompatible with membership in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In view of all this, it is clear that the action is not of a narrow, regional nature. Dalmatian communists have begun before the others, and it is quite certain that this action will have to be implemented, in a like or similar manner, in other parts of our country.

The experiences of Dalmatian communists will certainly be interesting for others as well. This is because in Dalmatia only 36 percent of the people's income is earned through regular employment, and 64 percent is due to income from services connected with the lodging and feeding of tourists, part-time fishing, rental of real estate, and other sources, including private barter and the so-called after-hours work. Fraud concerning social property in Dalmatia is especially evident in the construction of numerous dwellings and weekend cottages, without construction permits, along the seacoast and on the islands. This is frequently accompanied by damage to and even outright theft of waterfront public property.

Split: Elections as an Excuse

This of course should not lead one to conclude that the Dalmatian communists are the richest members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and that their property should be viewed with suspicion.

The communists' action is not an attack on honestly gained property. It will be uncomfortable only for those who will be unable to explain to their party comrades how they came to own, for example, the family home, the weekend cottage, the apartment, the yacht, the sled or the boat, the expensive automobile, or other items of great value; did they appropriate the society's real estate, build without a permit, forcibly move into social apartments, use credit fraudulently, or avoid paying the society its due?

The decisions to initiate the action to implement and protect the constitutionality, lawfulness, and norms of socialist morality were adopted

on 20 September 1985, at the 15th session of League of Communists of Croatia conference of the community of the Split opstinas. Thus far, numerous preparations have been made in the opstina organizations, from adopting the decisions of the opstina committees to nominating working groups charged with directing the work of the basic party organizations; instructional meetings with the secretaries of the basic organizations of the League of Communists, members of the councils for the protection of constitutional order, managers of business banks and social accounting services, law enforcement authorities, public prosecutors' offices, and courts.

The initial phase is almost over in some basic organizations of the League of Communists, consisting of the presentation of data on the property and finances of the members. We were advised by Stojan Obradovic, a professional political worker in the League of Communists of Croatia conference of opstinas, that the Opstina Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia in Split is the only one that has not had this on its agenda, giving as justification the fact that it was busy with elections and the drawing of new boundary lines.

Dubrovnik: Renewed Debate

"The action has begun well, and it is positive that in a number of basic party organizations people have begun, after a long time, to speak openly to each other," emphasized a member of the Presidium of the Conference of Community Opstinas for the City of Split within the League of Communists of Croatia, Josip Ninic. The verification of property and finances was approached in various ways. In Omis, Makarska, and some other opstinas a kind of census of the League of Communists members is under way. They are entering the information on special forms that have been prepared for this purpose.

Just a reminder sheet has been prepared for all the large League of Communists organizations in Dubrovnik, so that it would be known what kind of data were needed. The statements of the League of Communists members were then jointly discussed at party meetings. In areas where members of the League of Communists know each other well, the discussions are direct and no questionnaires are filled out. The joint motto is: A clean League of Communists. If it turns out that in some places the exponents of negative phenomena are not identified by first and last name, a request will be made to reopen discussions. After implementing differentiation in their own ranks, the communists will have the moral right to resolutely demand the elimination of negative phenomena also at meetings of the Association of Trade Unions, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the Veterans' Association, the League of Socialist Youth, SRVS, and other social organizations, and from the institutions and services that are supposed to protect our self-managing socialist system.

Executive Secretary of the Presidium of the Dubrovnik Opstinas Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia Nikola Tolja said the following:

"The plan for operative measures adopted by our opstina committee at the end of last year stipulates that all basic party organizations are obligated to determine property and financial status of their members by 15 March 1986.

After that, a comprehensive analysis will be prepared by 20 April for the entire opstina organization of the League of Communists, and new tasks stemming from a lasting action will be assigned. Democratic centralism obligates all communists to act in accordance with the decisions and the plan of operative measures.

Zadar: the Task is Still to Be Faced

If a basic party organization acts opportunistically or takes the line of least resistance, the Opstina Committee will take advantage of its statutory right to make the secretaries, members of secretaries, and communists in those organizations responsible ideologically and politically. In the first phase, communists working in courts of law, inspection services, administrations managing the social revenues, business banks and Social Accounting Service, were supposed to analyze in a detailed manner the work necessary to curb the negative phenomena in their areas or responsibility. If it turns out to be necessary, they will request additional personnel for these institutions and the replacement of those who are incompetent and poor workers, or even the dissolution of those services that fail to perform their tasks and meet their obligations.

✓ In the Zadar party organization, most of the work on implementing and carrying out the decisions from the 15th session will have to be taken over by the newly elected opstina committee. Niko Jozic, until recently the president of the presidium of opstina committee of the League of Communists, offers the following explanation:

"The time period allotted for this comprehensive and not at all simple task was too short because, at the same time, the party organizations had to deal with election activities. Still, the opstina committee of the League of Communists discussed the decisions from the 15th session, and it prepared a program for their implementation. All the socio-political organizations were the executive council and the organs of the opstina assembly.

Furthermore, the members of the opstina committee discussed the first topic linked to the decisions, entitled "Ideological-Political Aspects of Implementing Tax Policies in the Zadar Opstina." Discussions also took place in the League of Communists basic organizations in labor organization "Zadranka" and in the Starigrad local commune. These discussions were intended to serve as a model for similar broader activity in the basic party organizations. The committee had also formed special working groups which helped organize these debates. This means that we have begun to work on implementing the decisions from the 15th session, but the real work is still before us," said Niko Jozic.

In connection with implementing the party action among Dalmatian communists, one can also hear skeptical views on the prospects for the entire action. Most frequently, mention is being made of the instance of the social commissions for investigating the sources of property; for quite some time now, these commissions have not yielded anything near what had been expected of them, in spite of the fact that they could involve all appropriate authorities in their quest for truth.

Judging from the mood, however, most of the League of Communists members have taken the action very seriously and responsibly, since they saw in it a means of protecting their own regulations. As a matter of fact, this will decide more than anything else whether in the future the finger will be pointed at the entire League of Communists membership because of some individuals.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

TRENDS IN SERBIAN NATIONALISM TRACED

Belgrade NOVE OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 86 pp 14-15

[Article by Dragan Bisenic: "News from Serbian Nationalist Club; From Horse to Donkey"]

[Text] "If a physiologist were to measure the blood of a Serb and that of someone who eats more kale and spinach he would probably find that the Serb's blood was at least two-thirds heavier and more vigorous, and thus, for example, the blood of five million Serbs would weigh more than that of fifteen million from somewhere else." With these words the classic author of Serbian nationalism Jakov Ignjatovic physiologically bases the superiority of the Serbian race over other races. Since the others do not excel in the voluntary giving of blood, it is clear from whence comes the favorite pastime of the Serbs--spilling their blood for each and every freedom, even someone else's.

Cross from Two Night Sticks

Emphasis on national self-will, eternal fear of other nations, and installation of a mechanism of superiority over others readily leads to separatist nationalism. One has learned from legends and learned discussions that Serbs have not suffered from these afflictions because they have been incessantly connected, even to the point of shedding blood, to unitarianism (and all of our nations and nationalities, led by the party, have come to this conclusion). However, Dr Srdjan Vrtisan asserts that unitarianism is not now predominant in Serbian nationalism, but that separatism now reigns supreme. "While earlier a part of Serbian nationalism went under the guise of centralism and unitarianism, now a form of Serbian nationalism has appeared which has a separatist tone. Thus, it is no longer Serbs as the backbone of Yugoslavia, as the only nation of Yugoslavia which unifies the government, but Serbs together--Serbia for Serbs and Serbs within historical boundaries, making the historical boundaries Serbian. And the stimuli for this type of nationalism, and I would say that some things indicate that it is on the rise, are purely of a secular nature."

What has happened to make Serbian nationalism retreat from the slogan "Serbia and her Yugoslavia," and change to a call for reuniting under the fez of the Serbian state, using a slogan which has remained in memory as a motto of the Serbian cultural club of 1939? The historical inheritance and desire for

independence (fulfilled through the national state) led to taking bites out of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires, and also led to the unification of the Yugoslav nations. Although sociologist Louis Snider labels these aspirations "ruffian nationalism," and although he says nations which were once oppressed express their abhorrence of any form of community of nations through this form of nationalism--because the possibility of new subordination is created by becoming associated--these aspirations are certainly not passed from generation to generation to be continued in a logical sequence in present-day separatist aspirations.

The change in direction in assessing the character of Serbian nationalism was carried out recently. Word came from the highest levels that Serbs and Serbia cannot eternally bear a cross of two night sticks for the oppression of other nations. The Serbian nationalist is now confused. The fall from unitarianism, parental and devoted, including all Serbs in all our republics, provinces, and foreign countries, to separatism which is territorially limited, self-loving, narcissistic, is like falling from a horse a donkey. One immediately wonders about "Serbianization." Isn't this a conspiracy by other nationalists so that Serbs, in the distribution of domestic preference, are left with nothing?

However, the slogans that Serbs and Croats are like fire and straw, that Albanians are the habitual enemies of the Serb, that Moslems are the descendants of the Turkish oppressors, and that Slovenians are German foster sons, have not just come up, nor have they intensified on their own. "What has given this nationalism [separatist nationalism: author's note] a chance, and what has provided the stimulus is primarily reaction to events in Kosovo," according to Vrtsan.

Fewer Irredentists than Communists

The current Kosovopolje petition--2011--stressed separatist manifestations, and in the Draft of the Petition of Soldiers from Kosovo (understood to be Serbs and Montenegrins) the manifestation appeared in naked form. Abolishing autonomous provinces, bringing Serbia within its "historical borders," and introducing an official Serbian language, are sought.

It might be said that emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is mutual separatism. An ethnically pure territory is being created in Kosovo, and in Serbia the concentration of Serbs per square meter is increasing. While inhabitants of Serbia proper express complete solidarity with their compatriots in Kosovo, at the same time they curse when they get a job or quickly get a house built through the system. If a lesser Serbia existed in Kosovo (and trends, if not interrupted, point in this direction), it would always be proclaimed as a martyr, a saint, and a custodian of monuments of Serbian history in Kosovo, but it would also attest to the impotence of policy which is tainted with haggling and bargaining for leadership and more favorable position, and this inevitably leads to opportunism.

Emigration and irredentist activity have not disturbed relations between nations so much as they have directly compromised policy. From where do all

these irredentists come when the number of communists is many times greater? Why is it that assembly discussions concerning the Martinovic case take place without results?

During the blossoming of "a hundred flowers" of nationalism, no one was spared criticism, accusations, hastily-made labels, but the political institutions remained without quilt.

To build a "self-management socialist community" when only crumbs of capital pass through republic and province barriers is possible only in theory. It is in the nature of goods production to seek a continual expansion of markets, but someone then fetters it in an ostensible national economy, at the same time putting in place a secure cornerstone for national separatism. In the movement using the slogan--"to know your nation is to love it better," tragic peoples crawl from all over to the Yugoslav unified market, pictures of ancestors come to the surface which do not look like the ones we once knew. Suddenly everyone feels threatened, insecure, fearful for their existence.

Serbs Gladly Drink Juniper

"A Serb has what no one has, a Serb has four golden words, a Serb has Kraljević Marko..." all this topped off with Lazar's crown, and celebrated with red wine. Written on one Belgrade high-rise are the words: "We are Serbs and we drink brandy," and it turns out that there is not a thing which cannot be Serbian and which is not done by Serbs. If all these traits are as colossal as Vladimir Jovanovic cites them, Serbs are perfection itself, they need no one, and who knows how much they need each other. Faith in themselves, bravery, a free and independent spirit, strength of mind, a victorious feeling of truth, honesty, and justice, these are only a few of the characteristics about which Jovanovic wrote over a hundred years ago. Argumentation which was appropriate to that time is amusing today. Not because the traits Jovanovic enumerated are worthless, but because they explain the (erroneous) opinion about all-Serb unity and Serbian purity.

Searchers of a conjugal bed with someone of the same nationality turn to notices for marital union in our newspapers. "Young man, 25/180/75, SSS, good-looking, honest, nonsmoker, Serbian..." or, "Young man from Pirot, Serbian..." seeks suitable woman with whom to obtain by creative forces of birth, no doubt about it, a baby boy, Serbian, and in the quiet of our home to play songs about Serbian history on the gusle.

On the other hand, in the aforementioned Draft the need for birth control for the Albanian nationality in Kosovo comes out as the product of a suspicion that from the Albanian uterus will fly irredentist eaglets, the future persecutors of Serbs. Did it want to say that Serbs cannot be secure as long as Albanians exist as a majority in Kosovo? Even were population control policy imposed as a requirement stemming from the possibility that Kosovo might become an economic "black hole," incapable of economic reproduction because of a population explosion, the interpretation that someone is trying to keep Albanians from reproducing themselves will continue to be present.

Four Kinds of Separatism and the Head Fits

When underwear becomes a national banner and contraceptive devices take the form of protector of a nation's sovereignty, then "Feni" can be nothing more than a Macedonian tragedy, "Obrovats" a Croatian one, and "Medijapan" a Serbian one, because, a worker, for example, Slovenian, did not perform his class function in any of the enumerated fragments of economic wisdom. The Slovenian worker was not an economic subject to whom the failure of "Feni" would have meant something, because thus he would have been deprived of that which he had invested and that which he might have obtained. Because of this he does not have any chance (from his class position) to seek responsibility from the Macedonian leadership, and so there will not be a national summons. On a map of the Triglavsko-Vardarski region dark lines of moderate thickness are becoming increasingly important, these are the borders of the territories with their "chancellaries." On these bases the confederalism, which has been discussed in an analysis of our political system, has been constructed. Is polycentric etatism as a sign of expansion of state structures in our country really something different than separatism? What is going on when an opština, let alone something larger, only looks after itself?

Every case of nationalism is at the same time a case of separatism, as every case of separatism leads to nationalism because of the fact that the striving for closing and separation in a multinational community can be expressed only through the state which is by definition political. Without connection to the state, separatism is impossible. National and state separatism are like brothers. How the separation of one and the other appears can be easily seen in the example of the "three-name territory" of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. It is a source of at least four instances of separatism: 1) Vojvodina-type, which can be a Serbian national and a state autonomous unit; 2) strictly Serbian, where Serbs are most numerous, Serbian (national) and Serbian proper (government) are most frequent; 3) Kosovo separatism, which is Albanian irredentism. All three instances of separatism are Serbian (proper) because these territories are found in the republic (state) of Serbia, but they do not have to be designated "as Serbian" in the national sense.

The fourth type is unitarianist-separatist. Serbs as the majority nation ought to be "hegemonic" over others in the republic, but separatists from other republics in the "third" Yugoslavia. Thus, according to the foolish "three-Yugoslav" considerations, Serbs in the first two Yugoslavias won the wars, but lost the peace. In the third, the remaining Yugoslav nations can only be vassals to the Serbs, but in no way can they be allies.

Thus, four types of separatism can fall on the Serbian's head, but it is uncertain whether this head will endure that because an anthropological characteristic of Serbs is brachycephaly (short-headedness, broad-headedness).

However, the opinion exists that even discussions on the position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in the federation, and the province in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, carry the virus of separatism because they are directed at strengthening the statehood of Serbia at the expense of the autonomy of the province. Some might say Serbia has moved on the offensive against the province.

In weighing separatism against unitarianism, it appears that separatism is much more dangerous than unitarianism for "fraternal nations and nationalities," because it is attainable. Only the league of national bureaucracies can take on the role of unitarianist, but not every national bureaucracy, because it must count on opposition from the one, or the ones, which it intends to subordinate. Separatism is directed only at one of them and only the working class, whose "super-national interest" is at the same time productive, can put the wheels in motion in this regard.

The tactics on any separatism were best anticipated by Mate Mestrovic, president of the Croatian National Council in the HRVATSKA REVLIJA which is published in Munich. "It is important that Croats who support changes in the system occupy and officially recognize structures and that they create new ones outside of these structures... In this period of national reconstruction it is important that the struggle be conducted strictly within that which the Yugoslav Constitution and the laws permit and that actions are avoided which at this time cannot be successful, because the prerequisites for them do not exist," says the son of Ivan Mestrovic. Thus, separatism becomes a material force when it seizes power.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIAN PRIEST DISCUSSES WRITERS MEETING ON KOSOVO

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 86 p 11

/Article by Atanasije Jevtich/

/Text/ In these last days, from 4 to 6 March, the Belgrade section of writers and the Union of Authors of Serbia organized and held (on their premises in Belgrade, Francuska 7) three days of discussions on books about Kosovo and on the situation in Kosovo today.

On the first evening, Tuesday, 4 March, the following books were discussed: Milica Grkovich's--"Names in The Dechan Bullae"; Pavle Ivich's and Mitak Peshikan's--"Linguistic Studies from Kosovo"; Sinan Hasani's--"Kosovo, Truths and Errors"; Dimitrije Bogdanovich's--"A Book on Kosovo"; "Anthology--Albanians" (a publication of the Cakarjev Publishing House in Ljubljana); Vladimir Bovan's--"Serbian Literature in Kosovo," and Muhamed Keshetovich's--"Counterrevolution in Kosovo."

In addition to the authors, Professors Vasilije Krestich, Drago Chupich, Dushan Batakovich, Gojko Subotich, Jovan Sekulich, and Milan Ivanovich also participated in the discussions on these books. The last three participants spoke about our cultural monuments in Kosovo, pointing out their invaluable significance, but also the difficult current situation in Kosov-Metochija and the uncertain fate of these spiritual and cultural monuments of the Serbian people, which are grouped in one area and represent an exceptional worth not only for our culture but for the whole cultural world. The other participants in the discussion spoke mainly about the above-mentioned books; Miodrag Bulatovich, Mirko Perovich, and other listeners present then took over the discussion. The hall, corridor, and steps of these relatively cramped premises were overflowing with spectators, understandable for such an occasion and for such a burning topic of the day.

Although the discussions about the question of Kosovo, always a painful one but especially today, were conducted calmly and politely, it was not difficult to discern the presence of emotion in most of the participants in the discussions, especially when there were references to historical untruths and unjust statements about Serbs that were contained in works by certain writers of Albanian nationality. The "Anthology--Albanians,"

which is full of inaccuracies and lies and is based on the quasi-science of new Albanian "experts," be they from Tirana or Prishtina, was especially sharply criticized. (It was said that the Academy of Sciences in Prishtina subsidized the publication of this anthology.) Even the book of Sinan Hasanie, "Kosovo, Truths and Errors," was not spared criticism. Nevertheless, Prof Mirko Perovich said that it was the best book that had been written by an Albanian (or, perhaps, by a "team of Albanians"; at any rate, that is what people were heard saying, i.e., that a team prepared all the materials for him for this book). In contrast to Perovich, Prof Vasilije Krestich and others showed factual errors in this book, but moreover an obsession on the part of its author with an erroneous "symmetry between Albanians and Serbs," be it for an earlier era or for the current one. Thus, Bogoljub Pejchich said in the discussion that this book is "further from the truth and closer to the errors, as far as Kosovo is concerned.

The sober, scientific approach to the Kosovo theme in the book by Dimitrije Bogdanovich was praised, while the honestly written book of Prof Muhamed Keshetovich on the roots of the counterrevolution in Kosovo was particularly well assessed.

On the second evening, Wednesday, 5 March, a discussion was held on the following books: Spasoje Djakovich's--"Roots of the Conflict in Kosovo"; the consular letters of Milan Rakich (1905-1911); Batrich Jovanovich's--"Kosovo, Inflation, Social Developments"; Atanasije Jevtich's--"From Kosovo to Jadovno"; Djordje Trifunovich's--"Fathers of the Migration"; Ilija Vukovich's--"The Spirit of Autonomy and Separatism in Kosovo" and Branko Perunichich's--Letters from the Serbian Consuls in Prishtina (1890-1900).

In addition to the authors (the compiler of the consular letters of Milan Rakich, Prof Andrija Mitrovich, did not attend), the following participated in the discussions on these books: Vasilije Kalezich, Milan Komnenich, Mirko Djerdjevich, Slobodan Rakitich, Milan Djukovich and, from the audience, Svetozar Stijovich, author Radomir Smiljanich, and others.

The atmosphere of the discussions on this second evening was somewhat more heated, since the questions about the current situation in Kosovo-Metohija began to be increasingly delved into. Numerous questions were directed to the Assembly delegate, Batrich Jovanovich, especially on keeping secret from the public the departure from Kosovo of over 140 Serbs from 42 villages in Kosovo-Metohija and their complaints to the highest institution of this country about being subjected to constant suffering in their homes of centuries and being forced to leave Kosovo on short notice. Several participants in the discussion spoke about the open waging of genocide against Serbs in Kosov-Metohija; these participants included the undersigned, whose book of travel observations on the martyred Kosovo and Jadovno was also discussed on this second evening. It was pointed out and emphasized, not only by the writer but also by

others, that a series of new examples of Albanian oppression and violence have taken place and that Serbs from Kosovo have testified that their situation since 1981 has been more difficult than before the counter-revolution, and moreover that it was not any better for Serbs down there even before 1968. As the writer Slobodan Rakitich said, "It seems that the tragedy of the Serbian people in Kosovo is the only continuity that we have."

On the third day, Thursday, 6 March, at 11 am, a round table on the situation in Kosovo today was organized; the following people participated in the discussion, which lasted until 3 o'clock in the afternoon: Miodrag Bulatovich, Zoran Glushchevich, Borislav Mihajlovich-Mihiz, Mirko Perovich, Milosh Markovich, Mitar Peshikan, Spasoje Djakovich, Slobodan Rakitich, Milan Komnenich, Atansije Jeftich, Aleksandar Petrov, and numerous others in attendance, including the Albanian Hadzhi Dauti Omer, a military historian from Belgrade, while the lawyer Velimir Cvetich sent a telegram.

Beginning with the introductory remarks of Zoran Glushchevich, who spoke openly about the breakdown of the system in this country and about its powerlessness in the face of the destruction not only of a people such as the Serbs in Kosovo but also of the Yugoslav state itself, and continuing with discussions, the truth about the unforgettable tragedy of Kosovo came increasingly to the surface. It is not only a current tragedy for the Serbs and other peoples, such as Gypsies, but also a possible future tragedy for Albanians. Atanasije Jevtich and Milan Komnenich expressed a justified fear about responsibility for the fate of the two peoples in Kosovo, Serbs and Albanians, because of possible future uncontrolled reactions to the present-day tyranny and genocide against the Serbs. The Serbs in Kosovo increasingly feel and say that "the Serb in Kosovo is again a slave," while many Albanians, drunk on a chauvinist and fascist fervor and the support of authority, say that "we want a happy Kosovo, but without Serbs."

A literary evening devoted to Kosovo was held on the evening of this third day. Many of our songwriters and authors presented their literary contributions and songs.

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